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Tunisian Testing Ground

The ground lost by the Americans the week before in Tunisia was partly regained last week by an offensive which drove Rommel's forces through the Kasserine Pass. But more important for the Americans than regained ground was regained confidence. Our troops and leaders were untrained in actual warfare and our weapons and tactics were largely untested, while the Nazis had been learning for seven years on a succession of battlefields from Spain to Russia and from Norway to Libya. Again we are paying heavily for having given the Nazis the initiative by so many years and so many campaigns. American correspondents at the front report that individually the American soldiers are good fighters but that the Nazi commanders made better use of what material they had, the air-ground coördination of the Americans was not so good, and that our lower ranks of infantry officers left something to be desired in training. On the latter score especially it is worth noting that the Tunisian campaign has reminded us that modern warfare, for all its streamlined innovations, is still ultimately ground warfare and that the infantry is still crucial. The tendency of our best young brains and resourcefulness to be drained off into the other and more glamorous services makes the problem of staffing the infantry adequately a serious one.

The Lull Before the Offensive

The military talk now is all about the coming Great Offensive, which was promised at Casablanca and for which the Tunisian battle is a preparation in one war theatre. On the occasion of the opening of the British "Army Week," War Secretary Sir James Grigg and the ranking heads of the British General Staff promised "a knockout blow" very soon. The round-the-clock bombings of Germany and Nazi-held territory by British and American air forces may indicate that the softening-up process preliminary to attack is being intensified.

But if the offensive is to come, it must come soon. It would be best if it came while the Nazis are still bewitched and bewildered by their Russian disaster—and the most recent fighting in the Donets Basin already indicates a stiffening of their lines in that area, where the Russian offensive has been slowed by spring mud. And if the offensive is to come, it must come before the Germans have had a chance to withdraw some of their strength from Russia—fighting only a holding war there—and to entrench themselves in the West. Reports that the Germans are doing exactly that are numerous. Everything depends on timing. The turn in the war which has given us a chance to seize the offensive means that time is now an ally of the Nazis.

Appeasement's Good Child

A new low point in the appeasement policy of the State Department was reached in a speech at Barcelona by Carleton J. H. Hayes, our Ambassador to Spain. Hayes was formerly a distinguished professor of History at Columbia, who has written eloquently on the evils of nationalism and the corrosive force of materialism. Perhaps he likes Franco's regime because it is a fascist military clique rather than a national government that truly represents the aspirations of the people. Perhaps he likes it because it has squeezed Spain dry of food and the ordinary means of sustaining life, and therefore has no "materialism" left. Perhaps, being a Catholic, he likes it because it represents an alliance of political Catholicism with fascism.

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At any rate his speech praised the Franco regime highly as a "wise direction of the government which, while fostering works of peace at home, has held aloof from war abroad." Hundreds of thousands of dead Spaniards and a half-million in concentration camps testify to the humanity of Franco which Hayes praises. Before the Spanish people, before the Latin Americans and before the world, America has now been put on record as approving the bloody and malodorous Franco regime. It has backed up that approval by sending Franco food and oil—in fact, as the Ambassador stupidly boasted, the Spanish now have more gas and oil per capita than our own Eastern Seaboard states.

As far as Spanish policy is concerned, appeasement can only lead to frustration of our military objectives and the loss of our democratic support all over the world. Our armies in Africa have to be protected against an attack from Spanish Morocco, thanks to our tragic appeasement policy in the Spanish civil war seven years ago. But they can be protected on our own terms rather than on Franco's—by sparing him his life if necessary, rather than by strengthening his regime.

No Friend of Fascism

One of the many fantastic episodes that have resulted from the State Department's obvious friendship for the French fascists and semi-fascists is the resignation of Edgar Ansel Mowrer. As a deputy director of the Office of War Information, he was being sent to North Africa, where his thorough knowledge of French life and politics would have made him extremely valuable. The State Department refused to give him a passport. There was no question of his being disloyal or even of his being too radical for the State Department; as a matter of fact, his political opinions are rather on the conservative side. But he hates fascism, and therefore the State Department was afraid that he might interfere with its policies.

This is not the first time that passports to North Africa have been refused to able and honorable government officials. The others kept quiet, and Mowrer did too, but the newspapers got hold of his story—with the result (1) that the State Department yielded in his case but with reservations calculated to hamper the OWI, and (2) that Mowrer thereupon resigned. In New York last week he made by far the best speech that anybody has yet delivered on State Department policy. He had no objections, he said, to our *using* the French fascists. What he objected to was that we had allowed ourselves to be used by them. It was as if we had come to terms with Al Capone—and had let Capone dictate the terms.

Hitler's Speech

Hitler's latest proclamation to the Nazi Party makes somber reading for anyone who hoped that Europe could be saved from total devastation or that the war was approaching its final phase. It is, in effect, a new declaration of war against mankind, and against the Germans first of all. The Nazi Party, it says, "must extinguish the traitors, whoever they be and whatever their disguise, who follow aims hostile to the people." These "traitors" include everybody who has lost his faith in Hitler—in other words, more than 90 percent of the German nation. Even sterner measures will be used against the conquered peoples, who, besides being starved, will now be forced to fight and die to save their conquerors: "We shall not scruple about foreign lives at a time when such hard sacrifices are exacted from our own life." There will be no halt in the wholesale massacre of Jews, and the war will end "with the extinction of Jewry in Europe."

What Hitler's proclamation means in military terms is that the Nazis are raising vast new armies, so that their strength will continue to grow all summer, before—we hope—it enters its final decline. What the proclamation means in moral terms is that Hitler will destroy the culture and the very life of Western Europe before he surrenders. What it means to the leaders of the United Nations is that they must hurry. Offensive operations that are possible this spring may not be possible next summer. By autumn it may be too late.

Soldiers and Farm Labor

The army's decision to use troops in Arizona to help pick the remaining cotton crop was a fiasco, as the War Department was forced to admit three days later in rescinding the order. Arizona cotton-growers persuaded their Senators, Carl Hayden and Ernest W. McFarland, to convince the army of the existence of a critical labor shortage. The army then issued a ruling that troops would be used, without consulting the War Manpower Commission. But three days later Secretary Stimson was admitting that "further investigation has tended to show that it may not be necessary for the army to harvest the cotton crop"; and the order was canceled. The planters had taken advantage of the confused manpower situation to persuade the army to turn a large pool of disciplined labor in army uniforms into the fields—paid and maintained by Uncle Sam, they hoped. Actually, late last year the FSA moved 380 Southern farm families to Arizona for the harvest. The planters would not sign contracts guaranteeing minimum wages and decent living conditions with 200 of the families, who got no work. Instead, they tried to stampede the army into using Negro soldier labor from nearby Fort Huachuca, as Negro soldier labor had been used to shovel snow in Seattle, although white troops were stationed in the area. The use of soldier labor may or may not be part of the solution: but it is a matter for honest decision-making, not power plays; and it should certainly involve payment of minimal wages by planters into the proper government fund; and it *must* not involve Jim Crow.

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McNutt under Fire

The "Get McNutt" drive is on with renewed force in Congress. In fact, the attack moved at such speed last week that for a moment its commanders feared it was getting out of hand. Perhaps the most important parts of the home-front program which was scuttled by the House Appropriations Committee last week were the budget proposals relating to manpower—funds needed to build up the United States Employment Service, heart of the manpower organization; funds needed to provide day-care facilities for the children of working mothers; funds needed to combat absenteeism in war industries. In its hostility to McNutt, the committee weakened the whole program of manpower mobilization, now the heart of our war-production effort.

The congressional McNutt-baiting has revived a rumor of the possibility of a Cabinet shake-up under which a new Secretary of Labor would be appointed with authority also over Manpower, the War Labor Board and the National Labor Relations Board. Now that the knives are out for McNutt, such a move is again being seriously discussed, with Ambassador Winant as the first-rumored head, Mr. Justice Douglas the second. The guessers say the Winant rumor is a White House trial balloon; the Douglas rumor, a plant by the Douglas-for-President strategists who want to get Bill Douglas off the Supreme Bench for build-up purposes. In the meantime, the manpower muddle is growing more serious every day.

Jesse Jones Stalls

Early in his career under the New Deal, Jesse Jones is supposed to have said, "The way to beat Franklin is to delay until he forgets." Apparently that is the tactic Secretary Jones is now using to beat both the President and the Vice President.

All of us rejoiced when on January 6 of this year Henry Wallace in his capacity as chairman of the Board of Economic Warfare issued an order declaring that henceforth authority for the negotiation and administration of all procurement contracts from abroad was transferred from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which had muffed the job, to the Board of Economic Warfare. The intent of the order was to establish the sort of relationship between the BEW and the RFC that exists between the various administrative agencies of the government and the Treasury Disbursement Office, which honors properly submitted payrolls without exercise of its own discretion. But that wasn't the way Mr. Jones heard it. He stalled. First winning from Wallace in negotiations the right to retain signing power on all contracts, then stirring up that part of the press he could muster to spread stories about how Latin American relations were suffering from internal Washington bickerings, he has not at this writing complied with that part of the Wallace order which called for the transfer to the BEW of the RFC personnel engaged in the reallocated functions, although the transfer was supposed to have taken place before March 1. In the present tight manpower situation, this personnel is essential to the successful operation of the program under the BEW. Mr. Wallace may have to call Mr. Jones's hand again, to make his original order stick, before he leaves in early March for a stretch of goodwilling in Latin America.

Dies Opens Up on Congress

In a network radio speech last week, Martin Dies started a new campaign—to discredit the newly formed House committee which has been set up to pass on his charges of subversion among federal employees. Dies has been doing his best to make his influence the dominant force in the new Kerr Committee. This latest speech indicates that he believes he has failed and that he must now try to undermine public confidence in the committee even before it begins to operate. In this radio speech, Dies called for another committee of private citizens to supersede the Kerr group in conducting an investigation of his charges, so that, as he put it, "We would be assured it would not result in a whitewash." Representative Kerr and his committee should have no difficulty in understanding this kind of language or in understanding the motive behind this slap in the face.

Civil Liberty in Oklahoma

The decision of the Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals on February 17 reversing the conviction of Alan Shaw, Eli Jaffe and Ina Wood for membership

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Bad Enough in Peacetime, Inexcusable in War

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in the Communist Party and the possession of allegedly subversive literature, affects civil liberties not only in that state but throughout the United States. The cases were brought during the election campaign of 1940 as part of the drive against Communist election activity. The Oklahoma City "intelligence squad," acting on the complaints of the American Legion and the Catholic Church, raided the bookstore run by the party leaders, their homes and headquarters and their bank safe-deposit box. About 7,000 volumes of books and pamphlets, most of which can be found on the shelves of any large library, were seized. Twelve persons were arrested and held in the preposterous aggregate bail of $65,000.

The 1919 state criminal-syndicalism statute was resurrected for the occasion. It had not been used since the year of its enactment, and then in only three cases, two of which were won by the defendants in the higher courts. In the present case, the court upheld the law but ruled that no competent evidence had been presented that the Communist Party or the defendants had either sought to overthrow the government by force and violence or sanctioned such doctrine, and held that the district court had erred in not instructing the jury on this point.

While the court remanded these three cases for retrial, it is hardly likely, during this war to preserve the rights of free people, that these defendants or the eight others awaiting trial will be brought into court. Enough damage has been done to the Bill of Rights already by this prosecution. The state should "confess error" and drop the cases.

Books for Total War

In those bleak and rather terrifying Estimates of Minimum Civilian Consumer Requirements prepared by the Office of Civilian Supply, the public would be allowed to have only 29.3 percent as many books as in 1941, measured by the dollar volume of sales. In other words, books would be treated more than twice as severely as light wines and beers, which would still have 65 percent of the 1941 expenditures. Movies would be cut very little and radio entertainment was not mentioned in the table that appeared in The New York Times; presumably it would continue at about the present level. It almost seems that the OCS is prejudiced against the printed word.

When the English made restrictions on the publishing trade, they followed a wiser system. Instead of putting limits on the sales value, they simply reduced the amounts of paper allotted to the different publishing houses. Paper in England is scarcer than lubricating oil in Germany; the present quotas are not much more than 20 percent of the pre-war figures. And yet, by printing their books on thinner paper, with smaller types and narrower margins, the English publishers have managed to issue about half as many titles as in 1939. If it becomes necessary for us to reduce the supply of books, along with all other supplies, American publishers might follow their example. Then, if still further economies are needed, the publishers might begin using their blue pencils. We need books in wartime just as much as in peacetime, but we can get along without 900-page novels that ought to be cut in half and 750-page narratives by war correspondents in which every other sentence could be omitted without any loss to the world at large.

Farley and the Christian Americans

Jim Farley has been down South, hobnobbing with such statesmen as Garner of Texas and Dixon of Alabama. He went to Birmingham in order to inspect at Talladega a bag plant built by his company (Coca Cola) for the government. Farley is by now an expert in holding the bag. But that makes him all the keener to reinstate himself. So he is busily engaged on a national scale in dividing his party, as he did in New York. In Birmingham, he denied having been in touch with the Christian Americans—the sinister Dixie political organization which is threatening a reactionary break with the Democratic Party—although he had just come from Houston, headquarters for the group. But in Alabama he got very chummy with ex-Gov. Frank Dixon, who had arranged for the Christian American front-man, Senator O'Daniel, to address the Alabama legislature.

Farley could scarcely have gotten closer to the Christian Americans and the "secessionist" movement of Dixie Democrats than he did when he put heads together with Dixon. That Farley was not happy about a situation which brought him into intimacy with a group which has vague Ku Klux Klan undertones was shown by his private denunciation of the organization. But note that "private." For public purposes, he was content with saying as little as possible on the subject. Politics makes strange bedfellows.

Can Congress Run the War?

THE CONSTITUTION of the United States did not provide for a legislative body with executive responsibility, like the British Parliament. It carefully separated the legislature from the executive, specified a distinct method of electing the President, and gave him a term of office different from those of either Senators or Representatives. Furthermore, it made him Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and entrusted him with control of foreign relations, subject only to the check of ratification of treaties by the Senate. As a result of subsequent experience, the war powers of the President both at home and abroad have been so interpreted by the courts as to be virtually unlimited. This extension of the executive war power rests on the

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wisdom of concentrating the ability to act quickly and decisively in every important field when the nation's life is in peril.

Yet the United States Congress is behaving at present as if its powers were those of the British Parliament. It nullifies decision after decision made by the President's deputies under general authorizations previously made by itself, it attempts by personal attack and denial of funds to oust his appointees, and it is even engaged in the effort to dictate all appointments at the policy level, through the McKellar bill. In the interest of special-interest groups like the farm bloc it is in the process of upsetting the price and production policies adopted to minimize inflation and maximize output. Meanwhile it delays and fumbles the execution of the duties for which it is responsible, such as the levying of just and adequate taxes.

If Congress were the British Parliament, and did have authority over executive action, the sort of thing it has been doing would soon force the Prime Minister to ask for a vote of confidence. Then it would be compelled either to consent to his further leadership, or to elect somebody else in his place. For Parliament bears the responsibility commensurate with its power. It cannot hamper the executive at every turn in the performance of his duties, and then fall back and let him take the blame for the consequences. If it will not support one leader, it must find another. In any event the people will with their votes eventually call it to account for what its ministers do. This system, in Britain, works fairly well. But a system in which the legislature has the power to checkmate the executive without being able to replace him would not work well in any country, especially when that country is at war.

Deadlocks between the President and Congress are a frequent phenomenon in American history, and sometimes they have their uses. When public opinion changes between presidential elections, a powerful opposition in Congress may foreshadow a change in the executive and may prepare the way for it. The Republicans in Congress, with the support of reactionary Democrats, are now apparently following this formula, and in order to increase antagonism against the President are exploiting every annoyance and grievance incidental to the sacrifices required to conduct a total war. In addition, members of the national legislature are smarting under the necessary decline of their power under war conditions and are carrying on a political civil war against the Chief Executive in order to assert their nuisance value. It may be doubted, however, whether they are really so much concerned about the prestige of Congress as they are about the demands of the pressure groups who are using them for selfish ends.

This kind of deadlock is unendurable when the nation is fighting for its life, however well we may be able to endure it in more normal times. After all, no Senator or Representative is elected by the whole people, as is the President, and in war the country can more safely entrust the command to a representative of the whole than to spokesmen for local districts or special interests. We do not for one second believe that the minority of the voters who cast their ballots in the last congressional elections meant to have Congress take the wheel from the President, or that they have a right to ask it to do so even if that had been their intention. We believe that a referendum conducted on the President's management of the war would, in spite of dissatisfaction with certain aspects of it, support him by a heavy majority. Since Congress cannot in any case replace him by a committee of its own—and certainly not by its congeries of ill assorted and badly manned committees—it ought to be forced by an overwhelming public sentiment to cease its petty and obstructive tactics.

Congress can win the respect due it only by adequate performance of its proper duties, such as the levying of taxation. If it wishes to exert pressure for changes in executive policy by inquiry and recommendation, and will place its action on high national grounds, as the Truman and Tolan Committees have done, it can perform a necessary and useful service. At present it seems more like a schoolroom full of unruly boys venting resentment against the teacher than it does like the legislative assembly of a great nation.

The New Zionism

As the tempo of Hitler's demoniac campaign to exterminate the Jews of Europe mounts, so also does the demand for immediate retaliation. This demand takes different forms in different mouths. Some urge that the United Nations create temporary havens of refuge in Allied and neutral countries and Palestine and begin negotiations with Germany, through neutral intermediaries, for the release from German-occupied countries of all surviving Jews, or at the very least the children among them. Some suggest that a United Nations commission be formed to gather evidence on Nazi crimes against Jews and other innocent civilians and publish its findings now. Coupled with this suggestion is the proposal that in their broadcasts to the Axis peoples the Allies constantly remind their listeners that all those found guilty of crimes against Jews and others will be held to strict accountability after the victory of our arms.

All these demands seem temperate and wise. It is regrettable that they should not have been put into effect long ago. It is now nearly three months since the United Nations issued their joint declaration condemning the Nazi atrocities. Yet even today the declaration has not been implemented by any positive action.

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Meanwhile there is strong evidence that the Jews of Europe are being systematically murdered at the rate of at least seven thousand a day, and perhaps much more rapidly still. How many non-Jews are also being eliminated no one dares to guess.

Unfortunately other demands are also being raised which seem neither temperate nor wise. As in the last world war, so again in this an extreme Jewish nationalism is coming to the fore. Though they are without any mandate to do so, the advocates of this new Zionism pretend to speak for all the Jews of Europe, if not of the entire world. They demand the immediate creation of a Jewish army of stateless and Palestinian Jews and the admission of the Jewish people to the councils of the United Nations as an equal partner in war and peace. They are conducting a widespread and well financed campaign to achieve their ends, and they have obtained the support of many prominent non-Jews, at least some of whom must be quite ignorant of the implications of the program they have endorsed.

We have no quarrel with Zionism as such. We admire the work the Jews have done in Palestine and fully appreciate the important contribution which Palestine is making to the winning of the war. We shall always fight for the right of any Jews who wish to go there. But the new, militaristic, nationalistic and all-embracing Zionism of today is an entirely different matter.

The Jews of Europe have suffered so terribly in the great world tragedy through which we are all passing, their agony has been so much greater than that of most other groups, that it is an ungrateful task to criticize any efforts which may be made to help them. Yet the idea of putting the Jews into a separate army and making of all the Jews a separate people seems so much like the complement of the Nazi attitude toward them that it can hardly be accepted without careful examination.

In considering the problem which Hitler's maniacal anti-Semitism presents, it is essential to distinguish between emergency measures and long-run cures. This is precisely what the new Zionism fails to do. Because we cannot save them where they are, it is imperative that we bring as many as possible of Hitler's victims out of Europe at once. But this does not mean, as some Zionists hold, that the Jews have never been at home in Europe and never will be. Nor does it mean that they must be forced, or even urged, to find permanent homes elsewhere. Undoubtedly there will be a heavy residue of anti-Semitism left in certain parts of Europe after Hitler and all his followers have been swept away. There will be parts of Europe into which most Jews will prefer not to venture. But we should not let the frank recognition of these unpleasant facts lead us to counsels of despair. There are large areas of Europe in which Jews have been perfectly at home for many years. Even in pre-Hitler Germany anti-Semitism was confined to a small minority of the population. In Western Europe it had not been a major problem for decades, and in some countries of Western Europe literally for centuries.

Yet the new Zionism assumes exactly what the Nazis claim, that the Jews are a race apart, that they have never achieved more than grudging tolerance in Europe, and that they never will. "We are tired . . . of going under countless pseudonyms and of being 'Poles,' 'Czechs,' 'Greeks,' or even 'Palestinians,'" one of the advertisements of the New Zionist Organization of America reads. "WE HAVE A NAME—WE ARE JEWS!" This is precisely what Hitler and Goebbels say.

Just how far the proposal to segregate the Jews is being carried even by their friends is well illustrated in a recent radio speech by Sen. Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado. Senator Johnson proposed that all the Jews of military age in French North Africa "be organized into a separate unit within the ranks of the American Expeditionary Force." Yet such a move would continue the separate status which Vichy has imposed on the Jews of France, under direct Nazi prodding.

If we are ever to eliminate the scourge of anti-Semitism from the world, we must not give way to such counsels as these. We must rather recognize anti-Semitism for what it is, a disease, a neurosis, and determine to cure it. That it can be cured is shown by experience of Western Europe, and even more by the experience of the Soviet Union. It is to these examples that we must look for the solution, and not to the psychopathic aberrations of Hitler. We must resolve to give to all the Jews of Europe at least the degree of equality, of security and opportunity which they enjoy in England and the United States. If we do that, a Jewish homeland, a Jewish army and a Jewish flag will hardly be necessary.

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Pius XII and Fascism

ARCHBISHOP SPELLMAN will not confine himself to celebrating masses in Rome. He will deal with political matters. But if he tried to negotiate a separate peace with Italy he would waste his time, and if he came back to America with the news that the Pope could deliver a separate peace before the Nazi military machine breaks down, he would fool himself or others. If the Pope were powerful enough in Italy to deliver us a separate peace, why did he allow Mussolini to embark upon this war? And if he was unable to stop Mussolini in June, 1940, before Nazi Germany's control over Italy became as strong as it is today, where will he find the authority to sever Mussolini from Hitler now?

However, neither the British Foreign Office nor the American State Department is foolish enough to expect a separate peace; nor would the Archbishop have taken the trouble of a trip to Rome only in order to talk nonsense there. All of them are concerned, not with a separate peace to be obtained *before* the breakdown takes place, but with what is to happen in Italy *after* the breakdown has taken place. Will the Italians throw out not only "one man and one man alone" but also the King and all their other accomplices and adopt a republican form of government? Or should they adopt a pro-Allied-without-Mussolini clerical fascism in place of the present pro-German-with-Mussolini clerical fascism? This is the only field in which Pius XII and Archbishop Spellman have something to say to each other and about which to inform British and American Tories.

To be sure, if one asserts that Pius XII's policies are pro-Fascist, the weekly organ of the New York Archdiocese will brand him as a member of the Ku Klux Klan, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference will circulate through the 350 weeklies controlled by the Catholic hierarchy in America the legend that a few days before the conclave of March, 1934, Count Ciano's paper, Il Telegrafo, made public a list of cardinals who would not be acceptable to Il Duce as Pope, and that Cardinal Pacelli, the present Pope Pius XII, headed that list. How then, the Catholics will ask, can anyone claim that Pius XII is other than an anti-Fascist?

This is a legend, and like all legends it contains but a small grain of truth, utterly distorted. When Pius XI died, not only Ciano's mouthpiece, Giovanni Ansaldo, in the Telegrafo and in the Gazzetta del Popolo, February 12, 1939, but also the semi-official weekly, Relazioni Internazionali, February 18, 1939, called for an "evangelical pope" and voiced the presumption that Cardinal Pacelli would not be elected. It is not true that the Telegrafo or any other paper published a list of cardinals who would not be acceptable to Il Duce as Pope and that Pacelli headed the list. Ansaldo published a list, but it was a list of the possible winners. In it Cardinal Della Costa, Archbishop of Florence, "a prelate of evangelical charity and incomparable goodness," was favored.

This list was a Fascist trick. Cardinal Della Costa, while Archbishop of Padua, had had so many clashes with the local Fascists that Pius XI had had to kick him up to Florence from Padua. In Florence he had consistently abstained from those pro-Fascist demonstrations for which other cardinals, like the Archbishop of Milan, had made themselves notorious and contemptible. Why then did Ciano's henchmen list only Della Costa as the most probable Pope? We can guess the answer. Mussolini did not want to be saddled with such an intractable cardinal as Pope. The best way to make his election impossible was to clamor that he would be Mussolini's man.

When Pacelli, and not Della Costa, was elected, the Fascist press unanimously hailed his choice and made fun of the French papers which hailed his election as an Italian defeat. Farinacci stated that Pius XII was "a man of great intelligence, of great political experience and of great culture" (Regime Fascista, March 6, 1939), and when Pius XII chose Monsignor Maglione as his Secretary of State, the Turin Stampa, March 14, 1939, compared Maglione to "those great figures who had behind them such great reputations in centuries past," and Farinacci announced that "Fascist Italy could but rejoice at that choice" (Regime Fascista, March 13, 1939).

And, indeed, why should Mussolini have been disturbed by Pacelli's election? Cardinal Pacelli had been Secretary of State to Pius XI since the end of 1929, and had had a hand in all his pro-Fascist policies. In 1935 he had brought about the concordat with Hitler and disbanded the Catholic Party in Germany. On October 13, 1934, he had delivered in Buenos Aires an address "invoking the heavenly benediction on him who ruled the Fatherland and watched over its fortunes, keeping in mind the Christian and Catholic traditions of Italy," and by "him" he meant Mussolini. Pacelli had been no less responsible than Pius XI for the Vatican's pro-Fascist policies during the Ethiopian and Spanish wars. Let us therefore put aside legends and look at Pius XII's actual record.

There is no doubt that if he had had in Italy the political authority with which he is credited by American diplomacy, he would have prevented Mussolini from embarking on the present war. On this score his record is clean, and quite different from that of Pius XI in the Ethiopian and Spanish wars.

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When dealing with Vatican policies, one must always keep in mind that Catholic doctors distinguish between the "thesis" and the "hypothesis" of a situation. The "thesis" is the truth, the right, the good, and the Church must affirm it. The "hypothesis" is that lesser evil which the Church has to endeavor to squeeze from this imperfect world.

Confronted with the present war, Pope Pius XII could but assert the "thesis" of peace and justice everywhere in the world. But side by side with the "thesis" the "hypothesis" was always present in his mind. He always took care not to overstep that line beyond which he might come into clear-cut conflict with Mussolini. Therefore, more than any other Pope, he has indulged in long-drawn-out, complicated and oozy rigmarole and circumlocutions to leave the path clear for all possible "hypotheses," or "deals."

On December 28, 1939, Pius XII paid an official visit to the King and blessed Mussolini, "the illustrious Head of the Italian government, and his ministers." Yet on December 8, the Fascist government had reaffirmed Italy's military alliance with Germany and her policy, not of "neutrality," but of "non-intervention *for the present*" (note these last three words). The Fascist ABC daily of Madrid commented on that visit as follows:

> The Highest Pontiff has wished to attest by this visit that he approves the directives of international policy followed by Italy, and also for this reason the eyes of the whole world are focused on Imperial and Catholic Rome on this memorable date.

The Vatican official organ, Osservatore Romano, on December 31, 1939, reprinted these words with no contradiction, and the Italian press noted with satisfaction the attitude of the papal organ.

One might think that at that time Pius XII was hoping that Mussolini would never go to war, that his blessing, therefore, was meant to bless peace and that the papal daily in endorsing Mussolini's policy was endorsing a policy of peace.

Unfortunately for this assumption, on January 13, 1940, Ciano's Il Telegrafo announced that "no nation can today navigate the Mediterranean Sea, created by God [*sic*] for submarine warfare, against the will of Italy." Still further, on January 17, 1940, the Secretary General of the Fascist Party, the authority in Italy second only to Mussolini, warned the party that "there was no use fooling oneself with the illusion of perpetuating Italy's present situation with regard to the conflict. Fascist Italy may at any moment find herself facing the necessity and duty of taking up arms." And behold, on February 15, the fortnightly Civiltà Cattolica printed an article which asserted that "many nations poor in natural resources and in raw materials, but rich in birth rate and exuberance of life" suffer on account of "a lack of equilibrium between the means of sustenance and the population." "A people exuberant with life which is suffocated within the narrow space of territory where it is imprisoned" cannot avoid being urged by an "expansionist impetus." In order to avoid the war which might arise from this "expansionist impetus" it would be necessary to have "the collaboration of all nations." This collaboration had been "impeded up to now by the well fed peoples." These same arguments were rehashed in Italy by all the newspapers and all the Fascist orators in preparing the Italians for war against England and France. The Civilta Cattolica was willfully contributing to that psychological preparation. The Civilta Cattolica, a Jesuit periodical, though not an official organ of the Vatican, reflects the views and opinions of the Vatican, since its chief editor is appointed by the Pope.

On April 13, 1940, Pius XII received the Italian Undersecretary of War who "told him about the Italian army and its attitude" (The New York Times, April 16, 1940). The official announcement of the interview did *not* state that Pius XII had told the Undersecretary of War that he hoped war preparations would remain inoperative.

In April, 1940, the Fascist press began to shout that Italy's turn to move would come soon. Ciano's paper warned the Italians that they were mistaken if they thought their country could remain out of the struggle until the end: "Italy is waiting for the moment most suitable for her." Mussolini in person warned the leaders of the Fascist Corporations: "Do not believe that Italy will not go to war. Italy will honor her pacts. Italy's word is sacred." And he challenged the English fleet to come in (R. G. Massock, "Italy from Within," p. 219).

Just as the anti-British campaign was reaching its climax, on May 5, Pius XII gave a sermon in a church in Rome at the end of which he begged Jesus to "disperse the whirlwind of death which crushes humanity." Foreign correspondents were instructed to stress the fact that "the streets were jammed with enthusiastic citizens who cheered and clapped and waved" (The New York Times, May 6), and that at the conclusion of the sermon the congregation "gave him a five-minute ovation" (The New York Herald Tribune, May 6). This was the "thesis," the official affirmation of goodness. On May 7, the Italian papers announced the "hypothesis," that is, that on the previous day the Crown Prince had been received by the Holy Father. The Crown Prince was one of the two chiefs destined to lead the Italian army in the imminent war. Did the Pope still believe that Mussolini would not go to war?

Then the German attack on Holland, Luxemburg and Belgium occurred. The Osservatore, on May 11, printed a leading article openly condemning "German invasion" and a message from the Pope to the sovereigns of the three invaded countries, in which the word

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Germany was not mentioned but the invasion "against the will and the right" of their peoples was condemned. Mussolini had that issue of the paper confiscated everywhere and those who tried to buy it were clubbed by Blackshirts.

Thus Fascist shouts and threats showed that there was disagreement between Pius XII and Mussolini on that score. This was the "thesis." Then the "hypothesis" set in. On May 29, Pius XII admitted to his presence the new Italian ambassador to the Holy See and "bestowed his blessing on King Victor Emmanuel III, Premier Benito Mussolini and the whole Italian nation." Was he still believing that Mussolini would not go to war?

Anyhow, on June 10, 1940, Mussolini went to war. No doubt that was a sad day for Pius XII. But there are different ways of feeling sad.

Several bishops issued pastoral letters urging their flocks to "lift their reverent thoughts to the ever victorious King and Emperor and to the undefeated Duce," and assuring the soldiers that "God was with them." An official communiqué published by the Osservatore Romano announced that "the attitude and the responsibility of the Vatican were entirely separate from those of the Italian clergy and the Italian Catholics." As a matter of fact by the Concordat of 1929 the Holy See had pledged that all Catholic ecclesiastics should abstain from political manifestations. The Pope couldn't separate his own responsibility from that of those bishops who were violating the concordat and yet were not called to order by him.

On June 13, the Bishop of Padua, head of the Central Bureau of Catholic Action, *which is under the immediate control of the Pope*, addressed an appeal to all members of his organization to pray to God "so that He may bless our dear country and protect the sons of Italy who are fighting bravely." On June 19, the Pope himself, addressing Italian married couples, reminded them that "you have the duty to pray for your country, which, fertilized with the sweat and perhaps also with the blood of your forefathers, demands that its children be generous in serving it." From September, 1939, to June, 1940, Pius XII had never directed such urging to either English or French Catholics.

On July 1, the Civiltá Cattolica called upon the Italian Catholic citizens, soldiers and youth, to be "mindful of the heroism and the spirit of sacrifice they had shown in the last war" and "give proof of the same heroism in the task of assuring prosperity to this nation, the center of Catholic faith and of civilization."

On July 10, the Pope, addressing a thousand pilgrims to St. Peter's, warned them:

> In the present war there is danger lest the noble sentiment of love for the fatherland degenerate into vindictive passion. The good faithful Christian, faithfully and generously defending the fatherland, still must abstain from hate.

The only thing Pius XII could tell the Italians in that horrible phase of their history was that they should kill their enemies without hating them.

On September 4, Pius XII received 5,000 members of the Italian Catholic Action. He complained that "anguish weighs on the heart of the common father for the bitter conflict now raging among his dear sons" and prayed to the Holy Spirit to bring "order, transquillity, and concord" to the peoples of the world. This was the "thesis" for foreign export. Then came the "hypothesis" for domestic consumption:

> Members of Catholic Action must show themselves to be not only ardent Christians but also perfect citizens familiar with the exalted duties of social and national community life. They must be lovers of their fatherland, and even ready to give up their lives for it whenever the lawful good of the country exacts the supreme sacrifice. They must give due respect and loyal, conscientious obedience to the civil authorities and their legitimate demands.

Never did Pius XII think of sending analogous messages to the French, British or American Catholic Action.

On October 28, 1940, the Fascist criminal attack on Greece was started. On October 30, 1940, Pius XII received two hundred officers "representing the Italian army," and told them that it was "particularly dear to him" to give his benediction to "those who serve the beloved fatherland with loyalty and love."

On February 4, 1941, he received fifty uniformed German fliers and two hundred Italian soldiers: "It was the first time uniformed German officers had been received by the Pope since the start of the war." He told them that "he was happy to receive and bless them."

When correspondents from Rome broke the news that the Pope had received fifty German soldiers in uniform, the American papers were flooded with Catholic protests from England, America and Australia, demanding that the story be denied. The story had been given out by the Osservatore Romano. At the Vatican they explained that "all peoples were beloved by the Holy Father and he was always disposed to receive all peoples whenever possible" (R. and E. Packard, "Balcony Empire," p. 226).

Never during the war of 1914-18 had Benedict XV received French, British or Italian soldiers, though their governments would have been overjoyed to announce such an event, not only to their own peoples but also to the Germans and the peoples of Austria-Hungary. Since, in that war, German and Austrian soldiers could not come to Italy and be received by the Pope, any reception of anti-German Entente soldiers would rightly have been regarded everywhere as a breach of neutrality. Not even Pius XI, during the Ethiopian war, went so far as to receive Italian officers or soldiers. Pius XII is personally responsible for this

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"hypothesis." To exculpate him, Mrs. Eleanor Packard, in The American Magazine for January, 1943, had to upset the chronology of events. She forgot that the reception had taken place in February, 1941, and wrote: "Actually at that time, *Italy being still at peace*, Pius XII could and would have received Australian soldiers in uniform had they come to Rome and asked for an audience" (p. 76).

On August 13, Pius XII, addressing 3,000 pilgrims, including 600 Italian soldiers, told them:

> Today there is great heroism on the battlefields, in the sky and on the sea. Young soldiers, brave captains, priests and nurses are in the midst of battle, comforting the dying and curing the wounded. Although war is horrifying, it cannot be denied that it reveals the greatness of many heroic souls, who sacrifice their lives to carry out the duties imposed by Christian conscience.

On August 17, during another audience, the Pope signed postcards, notebooks and papers tendered to him by German soldiers.

On September 1, 1941, he received 100 German military men, including air-force officers.

On September 3, 1941, he received 3,000 persons among whom were 600 Italian war wounded. In May, 1942, he again received Italian war wounded to the satisfaction of the Fascist censor, who allowed a photo to be transmitted to The New York Times of May 24, 1942.

Meanwhile, on January 11, 1941, the Director General of the Catholic Action urged all members "to lift their prayers to God for the prosperity and future of Italy":

> If there is a time when Catholics, deserving of this name, must honor the Gospel by behaving as loyal, perfect citizens, obedient to the authorities and ready to shed their personal interests for those of all, it is the present when the fatherland requests the willing coöperation of everybody—soldiers and civilians.

The most striking "hypothesis" was still to come. On May 18, 1941, after the breaking up of Yugoslavia by Hitler and Mussolini, Ante Pavelich, the man who had been sentenced to death in France for plotting the murder of King Alexander of Yugoslavia at Marseilles in 1934, and who had now become the Quisling of Croatia, came to Rome and offered the Crown of Croatia to the King of Italy, who passed it on to one of the princelings of his house, the Duke of Spoleto. On the same day, the highly respectable gentleman, Ante Pavelich, was received by His Holiness, Pius XII. The Osservatore Romano stated that the Pope had received not only him but also the delegation of the new kingdom and also the new king. However, the latter had been received on the eve of the day on which he was to be proclaimed king. "Had he waited until yesterday, the Pope would have given official recognition to the new kingdom." So lamentable were the quibbles on which Pius XII had to thrive! As for Ante Pavelich and the Croatian delegation, they were received by the Pope *after* the new kingdom had been officially established. But the Osservatore Romano stated that the Pope had received Pavelich "as a Catholic individual," as if it were possible to split the man in two: the Catholic individual and the murderer Quisling. Yet, the Osservatore itself admitted that the "Catholic individual" had been accompanied by a stenographer. Why did he take a stenographer with him? The Catholic paper of Freiburg (Switzerland) announced that a concordat had been discussed. The official Vatican public-relations counsel, Monsignor Enrico Pucci, stated that there was no basis for this report. But this denial was not published by the official Osservatore.

Pius XII's behavior in this affair was a most authentic commentary on his famous Five Points, the first of which demanded a guarantee for sovereignty and independence to all nations, large and small. This was the "thesis." The puppet kingdom of Croatia is among an infinity of "hypotheses" which Pius XII would accept if Hitler and Mussolini win this war.

Catholic "propaganda" ignores all "hypotheses" and insists only on Pius XII's "theses" for peace, justice and other pointless points. It acts like one who recites the Ten Commandments, violates them one by one, and then demands that judgment be passed on his recitation and not on his violations.

But we are not pledged to ignore these facts, nor are the British Foreign Office and the American State Department in ignorance of them. Nay, it is because they know them that they send Archbishop Spellman to Rome to negotiate, not about a separate peace with Italy but about the post-war settlement with Italy.

This does not mean that they will have any more luck in this field than in that of separate peace. Anyone who intends to deal with Italian realities and not with his own wishful dreams, knows that if it is true that the Italians are almost all baptized in the Catholic Church, it is also true that among them no more than one-fifth are militant Catholics, three-fifths are indifferent and the remaining fifth are more or less militantly anti-clerical. In a pastoral letter of February, 1940, Cardinal Lavitrano, Archbishop of Palermo, stated that "66 percent of the Italians do not hear mass on religious holidays, and only 12 percent of the Italian men receive communion on Easter" (The New York Times, February 7, 1940). On one of the old gates of Rome there is a statue of St. Peter who points toward the ground and one of St. Paul who stretches out his arm toward some distant point. The Romans will tell you that St. Peter says: "Faith is made in Rome," and St. Paul says: "And is believed far away." The Italians are Catholic in moderation. Their Catholicism is quite different from that of the Irish, the French

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Canadians and the Poles. The respect they feel for the Pope as a political authority is analogous to the respect that the Unitarians among the Protestants have for the Bible as a historical source. The Italians are not Fundamentalists.

No greater mistake could be made than that of expecting that a new edition of fascism may be shoved down the throats of Italians thanks to the Pope's moral influence and not through force of arms. By associating himself with any attempt at rescuing the Fascist regime in Italy at the moment of its downfall, Pius XII will become the first victim of this policy.

The above pages had been written when a Catholic journalist, in the papers of February 20, regaled the American public with a mystery story according to which Archbishop Spellman went to Rome in agreement with the leaders of the United Nations in order to rescue the Pope from Hitler's and Mussolini's claws and take him by plane or submarine to South America. If such a plan had ever existed in any mind, the Catholic journalist would not have wrecked it by disclosing it before it was carried out. The tale is part and parcel of a methodical campaign of misinformation through which the American public is led to believe that Pius XII is willing to act in Italy as an anti-Fascist leader together with members of the Royal House, Badoglio, Grandi, Federzoni, Graziani and other no less heroic anti-Fascist leaders minus "one man and one man alone."

Preserving from disruption under anti-Fascist disguise the clerical-Fascist regime in Italy if Mussolini has to decamp—this appears to be the plan of Vatican-British-American diplomacy.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Planning Wins

But What Planning, and Whose?

THE BIGGEST NEWS in Washington is not making the headlines. That is not because it is a war secret, but because neither newspapers nor their readers have a flair for what is of greatest significance for tomorrow and day after tomorrow. The news is that post-war economic planning has won. The public is for it, industrial management is for it, labor is for it, agriculture is for it, government is for it. Those members of Congress and conservative employers who are against it are so far out on a limb that in order to keep any support at all they have to pretend to be for it and dress up their programs in planning garments.

If one were to identify the centers of strongest opposition to planning, they would probably be first, those economic theoreticians who still hope for a mainly laissez-faire economy self-regulated by competition, second, the National Association of Manufacturers, third, the anti-administration bloc in Congress. I do not believe the economists will ever surrender, but they are being worn down by attrition. The NAM, having discovered by a poll that the public favors post-war planning by a greater majority than it ever favored anything else, has appointed a committee on the subject. Congress, having refused funds to the National Resources Planning Board and having been rebuked by the President for that action, answers, through Senator Byrd of Virginia, that it does not object to planning, but to planning by New Deal bureaucrats, and intends to create its own planning body. That is just what the precursors of the New Deal bureaucrats urged Congress to do while Herbert Hoover was still President. The proposal was embodied in a bill by Senator La Follette which never got anywhere.

The issue of whether or not there is to be planning is now a dead issue, but the issue of who is to do the planning and what it is to be like is a very live one. That is what is going to dominate the headlines of the future.

Those concerned with planning as a technique for the public welfare are still immersed in developing the ideas which they hope will guide action—and these persons may be found in every interested group. But those who live by the exercise of and search for power have sensed that since the next era is to be an era of planning, their main chance is to get in on the ground floor. That is the real meaning of the abolition of the National Resources Planning Board. First of all, it became a symbol in the struggle for power between Congress and the President—as it would not have done if it had not embodied an idea of great potentiality. Second, it failed of hearty support within the administration itself, not because other governmental agencies were not interested in planning, but because they *were* interested, and either were jealous of the board's intrusions into their respective spheres or disapproved of its personnel or conduct as an embodiment of the need of the executive to plan.

Perhaps the strongest evidence of the conversion of the country to planning is the existence and work of the Committee for Economic Development. This is a nationwide body of leading industrialists, who have set out to learn how to avoid a depression and maintain full employment after the war. No one need doubt the sincerity of the more progressive forces of business in adopting this aim. Aside from more magnanimous mo-

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tives, they are convinced that their own safety and the continued existence of private enterprise are involved. They fear that an unprecedented economic collapse, with disastrous political consequences, may accompany demobilization. They hope that with planning it may be avoided.

The foundation of their approach was laid months ago in coöperation with economists in the Department of Commerce. The idea is essentially simple. First you estimate what the national income must be if there is to be full employment. Then you figure how the expenditure of this income would probably be divided in the purchase of the broad categories of goods. At this point the several industries take over, to estimate their own potential markets. It is hoped that on this basis each plant will adopt a rational and full production program for whatever it could best produce—whether automobiles, refrigerators or anything else. If such production programs are carried out, then the result will be a national income of a size large enough to provide full employment, for everybody will be producing on the assumption that he can sell that many goods, and the productive activity will supply the employment.

Serious doubts are entertained by skeptics as to how this will work out in practice, even with the best of intentions. Business is accustomed to restricting production to a level far below that which would maintain full employment. In part this is the result of a desire for monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic profits. Industrial concentration has been immensely increased during the war. Orders have been given mainly to the big concerns. Smaller companies which survive have largely come within the circle of influence of the big ones by the process of subcontracting. Anti-trust actions have been called off, in order not to embarrass the war producers. Even more important than this factor, however, is the natural doubt of the individual business man that the purchasing power to buy so great a production will actually exist, when war orders stop. Even if he does his share in scheduling output, others may not, and then employment will not be full and the market will not be so large as has been estimated. He will have to stand the loss.

If a summation of the production programs adopted by the various industries promises something less than full employment, then the case for governmental spending to fill the gap will be clear. But will business favor the necessary spending? It has not done so in the past. It fears, perhaps even more than it fears unemployment, an extension of government enterprise. Some leading business men have been converted to the Keynes-Hansen theory, and there will be a split in the ranks of the opposition if the issue becomes acute, but the outcome is far from certain.

Another possible result would be even more menacing to the end in view. There might be a production program deliberately inflated for public effect, without any real intention of carrying it through. We might be treated to a great publicity campaign concerning the prowess and foresight of private enterprise; its capacity to create permanent prosperity without any government help or interference. This could prevent any other action being taken in time, and we should run into a depression with business more firmly organized and more securely in the saddle than ever before. In sheer fright at the possible consequences of the doom it had invited, it might turn to the more ugly devices of conservative power on the defensive.

Neither of these results is inevitable, if the proper precautions are taken, but dangers of this sort need to be seriously considered.

Another planning agency whose star seems to be rising is the National Planning Association. This operates in a different field from that of the Committee for Economic Development and is not competitive with it. It does not engage in industrial scheduling, but expresses the interest in planning at the level of the whole national economy and the international implications. Its method of operation is different also. It does not represent business solely; indeed it does not represent any pressure group. Its board consists of individuals selected primarily for their interest in planning for national and social welfare; these individuals come from business, labor, agriculture and professional ranks. Its committees and group meetings provide a common ground for informal interchange among persons of this sort and government officials competent in the problems under consideration. It has standing committees drawn respectively from business, labor and agriculture. From these committees more will be heard. The Association has no power to act, but its influence is growing. It embodies an approach to planning which attempts to cut across conflicts for power by means of candid coöperation. Whether this approach can succeed remains to be seen.

Economic planning is full of technical perplexities and political hazards. This article can only brush the surface of such questions; in due time they will be spelled out in public controversies and proposals for action. The present point is merely to register the fact that we have come to a stage in history when the question is no longer whether to plan or not, but how to plan.

One basic issue, however, deserves brief comment in conclusion. Many in this country fear the power of big business and would use the government to curb or even to supplant it. Many others fear the power of government and, in the interest of liberty, oppose any drift toward socialism. Some believe that successful planning in peace is impossible without either a socialist government or a totalitarian regime of some sort—perhaps a business dictatorship. Some think that it is essential to fight the class struggle before even attempting to plan.

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What the ultimate validity of these beliefs may turn out to be I do not know. But I do know that no one of them encompasses the immediate situation. We are not going to have state socialism in the near future; even organized labor, thanks to many experiences such as that to which the New York transit workers have been subjected by Mayor LaGuardia, would rather work for private employers than public ones. Nor are we going to have a business dictatorship unless we experience a real counter-revolution; labor and progressive forces are too strong for that. All groups in turn either have discovered or will discover that a considerable exercise of the functions of government is necessary for the advancement of their own interests. Meanwhile citizens as individuals and consumers must depend on government for protection against pressure groups—even their own. Therefore, to keep the national economy a going concern, coöperation or balance among all these forces must be attempted. The effort to plan is an area in which it may most hopefully be tried. It is in the process of this effort that the next stages of the contests for power will be made manifest.

GEORGE SOULE

Washington

Unfreeze Farm Labor

WE HAVE PLENTY OF FARM LABOR. The job is to unfreeze this great manpower reserve, not to freeze it completely as Senator Tydings and the farm bloc have almost accomplished with their sinister farm work-or-fight amendment to the Selective Service Act. First, the agricultural wage structure must be unfrozen to the point where some semblance of parity is reëstablished between the farm worker's pay and that of the industrial common laborer. An outrageous disparity—the farm worker gets but 38 percent of what the factory beginner earns as against 87 percent in 1910—lies at the root of the farm labor "shortage" problem. Second, the farm manpower hoards kept virtually "under the gun" in the rural South must be redistributed. Third, 2,000,000 seasonal hands must be really put to work—"decasualized" is the jargon for it. We can no longer afford to leave this group idle a half or more of the year. Fourth, 2,000,000 underemployed farm families, numbering up to 5,000,000 effectives, must be mobilized for full food production. Over-all planning, credit, supervision, removal of many from submarginal to better land could accomplish a food-production miracle, as the Farm Security Administration's 1942 program, affecting only half a million of these families, demonstrated.

Prospects of unfreezing the farm-labor supply are dark indeed, in the light of recent Washington decisions. The War Manpower Commission has washed its hands of farm labor, leaving the Department of Agriculture in full charge of mobilizing this year's land army and distributing it for action. The Farm Placement Division of the WMC's Employment Service, which connected 3,000,000 agricultural workers with jobs last year, is left without apparent function or future. Though Farm Placement was subservient enough to the big farmers to earn the deep distrust of farm workers in most states, it did ask questions about wages and working conditions and sometimes refused to send two or three workers out to one-man jobs. This was sufficient to incur the enmity of employers.

John O. Walker from the FSA has been made head of the new farm-labor program. This could be taken for a good sign were it not that he is boxed in before he starts. Labor mobilization on the local level—where it must get done, if at all—has been turned over by Wickard to the Extension Service, which knows very little at present about labor-exchange techniques and is heavily under the influence of the ultra-conservative farm interests. The county farm agents, therefore—whose salaries come in part from state, county and even Farm Bureau coffers, and who consequently do the bidding of the big farmers—will be the recruiting sergeants for the land army. This is all we know about Wickard's program as yet—and all we need to know.

Wickard gave the whole thing away recently in testimony before "Cotton Ed" Smith's Senate Agricultural Committee. Under provocations and insults from the aged South Carolinian, the Secretary preserved an equanimity worthy of Chamberlain at Munich. Questioned concerning his proposed policy on pay scales for farm workers—which he has repeatedly admitted to be the crux of the shortage problem—Wickard abjectly surrendered. "They will work," he said, "for whatever the farmers are willing to pay them." Yet farm employers could easily afford to correct the gross disparity between their workers' wages and those of industrial common laborers. Wickard's own statisticians have pointed out that with the biggest net farm income in history last year, the farmers' wage bill was but 15 percent of the total—proportionately the all-time low. Manpower Commissioner McNutt told James F. Byrnes's Economic Stabilization Board that farm employers could have paid their workers twice as much in 1942 and still have pocketed more clear cash than in any year since inflated 1919. Net farm income in 1942, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics reports, was more than twice the average for the years 1936-40, while farm workers' wages were up only a half from the abysmal average of the same years. Notwithstanding this record, the farm employers are trying to put

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over on us the felonious Pace bill, tacking the rise in farm wages on to parity prices with the intent of robbing Pete War-worker to pay Paw Joad.

Farm Placement Service investigations of labor shortages reported in 1942 disclosed that workers were potentially available in all instances, only they were not willing to work for what the farm employers were offering. Massachusetts dairy farmers tried to get hands for as little as $30 a month when the expanding war industries of the state were taking on inexperienced men at five times as much. Pennsylvania employment offices reported that farmers were offering experienced dairy workers from $20 to $70 a month, against industrial starting rates of 60 to 75 cents per hour, while evidence of equally preposterous wage disparities came in from other heavily industrialized states like Illinois and Wisconsin. This throws new light on why the big farm organizations bitterly assail union labor and demand that Congress crack down on industrial wages.

Two million seasonal workers have been the normal complement of American agriculture. In the state of Texas alone more than 200,000 such workers annually followed the crops northward from the Rio Grande through the Black Waxy and the bluebonnet prairies on to the high Panhandle plateau. Back in the winter of 1938 a county sheriff out in the Texas Panhandle happened into a Negro farm workers' camp on an isolated 9,000-acre cotton ranch. What he saw appalled even this hard-bitten guardian of Great Plains justice. Three hundred of an original 500 Negroes who had drifted in months before to pick cotton were stranded there without money to get themselves home. Hungry and freezing—blizzards hit the Panhandle fresh off the Rockies—these miserable castaways were huddled in dug-outs "like hogs." Each dug-out housed about 100 and on the floor of one the sheriff found two corpses covered with gunny sacks—dead from pneumonia. The owner of the ranch expressed no concern. When warm weather came, he said, the Negroes would "fade out."

That has been the attitude. Farm employers have complacently expected workers to show up like wild geese in the spring, do the job required "for whatever the farmers are willing to pay them" and then "fade out." But this year the battered fleets of jalopies are being fed to the open hearths and won't be carrying their overloads of workers along US 1, US 66 and US 99 to the gates of the farm factories. Casual agricultural labor has lost most of its mobility. Realizing what they may be up against, farm employers are drastically curtailing their production plans. A recent BAE survey discloses that two-thirds of the really big operators, who handle 1,000 cultivated acres or more and produce a large proportion of all marketed crops, figure on reducing their 1943 planted acreage and number of livestock below 1942 levels. This ominous prospect has not yet been reflected in the rose-tinted estimates of 1943 food production put out by the BAE.

The casuals—Okies, Arkies, "Texicans," apple-knockers, muck-shoes and assorted harvest stiffs—have not only lost their means of self-propulsion to the areas where they are needed but the main reservoir of surplus farm workers, the South and Southwest, has been frozen deep by the Tydings amendment to the Selective Service Act, by emigrant-agent and labor-enticement laws and by outright big-planter intimidation. It is estimated that 1,500,000 Southern farm workers could be spared for food and industrial production as well as for military service if agricultural labor-use were rationalized even to an elementary extent and nonessential cotton raising were discontinued. The Tydings amendment, as defined by regulations issued thereunder, can exempt a sharecropper or wage-hand responsible for as little as twelve acres of cotton or four of tobacco, at the same time forbidding him to take another job elsewhere, whether agricultural or industrial, under pain of instant shanghaiing into the armed forces. It will result in the deferment of more than 3,000,000 men, says Lt.-General McNarney, deputy chief of staff, who also promises to supply farm employers "from 50 to 1,000,000" troops as shock harvesting battalions in their fields and orchards.

Bolstering the Tydings system of back-to-slavery-for-the-duration are the emigrant-agent and labor-enticement laws, old muzzle-loaders of Southern repression which have lately been taken down from the nail and charged with fresh powder and ball. At Americus, Georgia, the other day a Yankee enticer of seventeen Negroes for work in Ohio got six months plus a $1,000 fine. Now to make sure that the government won't break up their labor-hoarding conspiracy, the big Southern planters who run the Farm Bureau have got Wickard to turn local farm-labor mobilization over to the Extension Service. We can depend on this outfit to see to it that the Southern farm labor surplus is not unfrozen this year.

Mobilization of the full manpower resources of the 2,000,000 underemployed farm families which Wickard, in an address to the National Catholic Rural Life Conference last October, described as our principal labor and food-production reserve, appears to be another lost ball. H. W. Parisius set out to effect this very mobilization but was checkmated as soon as his plan of campaign as food-production director reached the ears of the farm monopolists, who now tell Wickard what he can and what he can't do. The FSA showed the enormous possibilities of this approach to the food-production and labor-utilization problem when in 1942 its clients lifted their own output in nine war-essential crops from 20 to 106 percent over 1941. The FSA's 7.6 percent of the nation's farmers—marginal producers all—turned in 36 percent of the 1942 national milk increase, 27 percent of the dry beans, 10 percent of the eggs, chickens and peanuts. Parisius knew that even more spectacular results could be achieved by

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swinging 2,000,000 or more families into all-out food production. So did the farm monopolists. Parisius lasted five weeks.

One good sign in the midst of portents all prophesying chaos and catastrophe on the farm-labor front is that the President has sent to Congress a request for a $65,000,000 deficiency appropriation to finance a special FSA labor program during the remainder of the fiscal year. This request may not even survive present heavy weather in the House Appropriations Committee, but if it should somehow fluke through Congress, funds would be available to provide 250 additional mobile labor camps housing 100,000 migrant workers, supplementing the present 95 permanent and mobile camps which can take care of but 65,000. Also provided would be funds for the transportation of 250,000 workers to areas where crops needed to be saved—substitute for the sunken jalopy fleet—and for the importation of 50,000 Mexicans. The FSA has already proved such a program to be workable, having transported about 4,500 Southern and imported 5,000 Mexican farm laborers under a special allotment from the President's contingent fund.

A third feature of the new labor program would be the selection, training and placement of 60,000 year-round hired hands—dairymen, poultrymen, husbandmen. The FSA has done successful pilot-work here, too, picking good men off hardscrabble farms in the Appalachians and Ozarks, arranging for short training courses in farm schools and relocating them with their families as hired hands in the Middle West and Northeast. So far less than 1,000 have been actually moved, but roars of berserk rage have already arisen from powerful Southern congressmen who have lost a loyal constituent or two in the process.

There remain for discussion the land armies of high-school children, urban housewives, week-ending white-collar workers and the like whom we are told to trust in as saviors of the crops this year. "Dream armies" is Louis Bromfield's name for them. Such raw levies from the non-farm population did a little good on the agricultural front in 1918. And Paris taxis—plus, some said, an angel—turned the tide at the Marne in 1914. The farm-labor situation in 1943, however, will not be saved by old expedients, lucky improvisation or heavenly intercession. Our farm manpower resources are adequate to the job, but nothing short of their total mobilization can do it. Mobilization means achieving mobility, means unfreezing. No such mobilization is under way. But the crop season is.

JOHN BEECHER

The Swedes Don't Scare

SWEDEN has become a tight little isle, completely surrounded by a "friendly enemy" she doesn't like. The war, though not actually present, is evident everywhere. Warplanes zoom over Stockholm's buildings; gigantic piles of cordwood, to be used as fuel, make ugly the beautiful boulevards; air-raid shelters like huge ant-hills disfigure her pleasant parks, and innumerable "Skyddsrum" signs point the way to them. Windows at Malmo and other south seacoast towns rattle with air raids on Copenhagen, Denmark; and cannonading at Trondheim, Norway, reëchoes in valleys along mid-Sweden's frontier.

While officially the government goes on the theory that war will be avoided, actually all preparations have been made to wage it successfully if it comes. The people are intensely patriotic. Every Swede feels he has a country worthy of cherishing and defending. It is his personal homeland; for many centuries the present frontiers have been fixed; for perhaps 2,000 years his ancestors have lived where dwell Swedes today.

With historic right to their own country, the Swedes also have a deep-seated respect for the rights of others, and a strong love for law and order. There is an ancient Swedish principle of jurisprudence, dating from the thirteenth century, which says, "Laws were made for the guidance of all, rich and poor, and to define right and wrong. Laws shall be observed and respected to maintain peace for the peaceable, and awe and chastise the violent." That is Sweden's creed today.

Sweden's policy of neutrality is nothing new. Friends with all, large and small, has been her motto for more than one hundred and twenty-five years. Today she is prepared to defend that neutrality with all her armed might.

"Will Sweden really fight?" is a question often asked by foreigners. Swedish leaders have repeatedly made it clear that she will, against any aggressor. Says Osten Undel, Parliament leader and former Foreign Minister, "We will fight if we're attacked, whoever the aggressor may be. We'll fight if demands jeopardizing our independence or democratic way of life are presented. There are an unwritten code of international law and moral rights and duties that cannot be sacrificed under any circumstances. We will fight for these with every means at our disposal." Foreign Minister Christian Gunther adds, "We would meet with force him who tries by force to make us change our attitude."

To the question "Can Sweden fight?" the affirmative is equally plain. Military secrets of course cannot be revealed but a few weeks of first-hand observation convinces me that Sweden is prepared to give any aggressor a first-class battle.

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Every able-bodied man between twenty and forty-seven is ready for active military service. Statistics show that 95 percent of the boys conscripted for training are physically fit for active field service. This remarkably high figure reflects Sweden's heritage of clean living as a nation and general participation in active sports. From early childhood practically all Swedes go in for skiing, swimming, cross-country running and other outdoor athletics. To get a "Fitness Badge" for skiing, one must cover an eighteen-mile cross-country course in three hours and a quarter, and tens of thousand of civilians can perform that feat. That the Swedish army is tough is illustrated by the record of the "winter army" which spent months in the north woods, maneuvering in weather mostly 20 degrees below zero centigrade. Not a single case of frostbite was reported.

The troops have been carefully trained in the kind of fighting the terrain of Sweden demands. Taking advantage of the myriad lakes and hills, the dense forests and rough fields, the Swedes have developed tactics which should more than double their strength against an enemy unfamiliar with the country.

The Swedish army is as well equipped as any military force in the world, for the particular job it may have to do. Sweden is in part a highly industrialized country, and she now produces sufficient war material of all kinds for her forces. She is turning out airplanes, tanks, cannon, even submarines and other warships. Production costs are running at 1,250,000 kronor (about $300,000) a day—a considerable sum for a nation of 6,000,000 people. Defense expenditures of all kinds this year will come to 800,000,000 kronor (about $200,000,000), which is sixteen times as much as was spent in 1939.

Back of the army stand the home guards, well armed and trained. The state-aided rifle clubs, whose objective is to teach men to shoot straight, have more than 300,000 members, and their practice isn't restricted to rifles.

Sweden's cities are as well prepared for a blitz as most of England's. Some 100,000 men are trained air wardens; 800,000 women have taken ambulance, nursing, first-aid and other courses. Anti-aircraft gunners have brought down more than a hundred transgressing belligerent planes which violated Sweden's neutrality.

Any invader will find that Sweden has the men, has the guns and has the courage too. The country is determined never to capitulate. Premier Per Albin Hanson startled the world when he told the Swedish Parliament about the irrevocable standing orders that had been given the army. Officers and men were told that if the country was invaded they were to fight, and were to continue fighting no matter what happened. They were to ignore orders from whatever source to cease firing, as long as an enemy remained on Swedish soil. Any instructions to surrender would be false. Thus Hanson guarded against fifth-columnists who might interrupt or seize communications, and also against his own death or capture and the subsequent use of a Quisling by the invader.

Sweden's economy has been considerably disrupted by Europe's disorganization. International trade, except with Axis-dominated countries, is practically at a standstill. Hence the country has been deprived almost entirely of many products, including coal and gasoline. The Swedes have turned to their forests for relief. Wood is heating the cities—well enough, too. Producer gas units, which burn charcoal or even raw wood, have been built into motor vehicles. It takes barely a minute to kindle the furnace and start going, and cars can make forty miles an hour on this fuel. Producer gas costs less than peacetime gasoline, and many vehicles, especially farm trucks, won't return to gasoline after the war.

Wood has come to the rescue in many other fields, too. Sweden's national drink, aquavit, now is made from cellulose sugar instead of grain and potatoes. Cattle, horses, sheep and goats appear to thrive on shredded cellulose, although the milk of cellulose-fed cows is nothing to brag about.

Lack of imports has meant rising prices, and wages have not kept pace with living costs. The Swedish public, nevertheless, is coöperating well with the government in its efforts to prevent inflation. It is paying very heavy taxes and it has accepted freezing decrees uncomplainingly. Even the farmers are not protesting the considerable cuts ordered in the prices of potatoes, grain and other products, as their "contribution toward common weal." The government has limited dividends and instituted sharp price control as the *quid pro quo* for the farmers' sacrifices.

Although 70 percent of the food is rationed, the people still eat enough to obtain more calories than the standard requirement. The *pièce de résistance* of all meals is the potato. Potatoes are used as an integral part of bread flour. By law they cannot be peeled before cooking. Parliament spends hours debating the spud and controlling its price, distribution, and so on.

Tobacco is scarce, but Sweden recently had a windfall when a large stock of cigarettes was obtained from Germany. The Germans had optimistically packed them under the label "Cairo," but Rommel failed to occupy Egypt and so the supply had to be dumped in Sweden. To sell "Cairo" cigarettes in Berlin would have been too embarrassing.

While Sweden has been striving to maintain a high standard of national well-being in an abnormal world, she has also done her best to help her unfortunate neighbors, especially Norway and Finland. She has opened her frontiers, heart and homes to 30,000 sickly and underfed Finnish children, and nursed them back to health. The Swedish Rädda Barnen "Save Children" Fund sends 330,000 kronor to Finland monthly, 110,000 to Norway, and spends only 80,000 upon Sweden's tots. The number of Norwegian refugees in Sweden is unrecorded—or at least undivulged—but it is probably

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about 10,000. The Swedish Red Cross offered to place unlimited numbers of Norwegian children in Swedish homes, but the Germans refused to permit this humanitarian measure. Sweden has, however, provided a haven for many Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Danes and Hollanders who managed to escape Russian or German invaders.

Sweden's head, as represented by the government, is neutral; but her heart—that is another story. The heart belongs to the people, and if the people's collective heartbeats were Gallup-polled it would be found that at least 95 percent of them—most Swedes say 99 percent—beat faster with every victory of the United Nations. There are many in Sweden who seriously doubt that the blessings conferred upon them by neutrality outweigh the dangers of spiritual and moral decline that threaten a nation which is strongly democratic in feeling and yet takes no part in a struggle to the death between fascism and democracy. They feel that liberty, even for others, is worth fighting for.

The immediate objective of Sweden's government is to spare the homeland from the horrors of German invasion. It is absolutely frank, however, in its attitude toward its big belligerent neighbors, Germany and Russia. Both have hurled recriminations and even threats because of Sweden's allegedly unfriendly viewpoint. The psychology of belligerents is universally the same: those not for them are against them.

Yet Sweden stands firm in her sympathy for Finland and Norway and in her admiration for the democracies. The people, the newspapers, the Parliament, the government, make no effort to conceal their thoughts. Of Finland Foreign Minister Gunther has bluntly said, "Sweden has an incontestable interest in a free Finland linked with other northern countries"—an expression which obviously displeases Soviet Russia. Concerning Norway, Gunther is even more explicit: "We follow with sorrow developments in Norway, and it is no exaggeration to say that the entire Swedish nation has been deeply shaken by measures taken there which are contrary to northern ideas of right and justice, even though Germany has attributed them to hard realities of war."

Hardly a day passes that the Foreign Office doesn't receive complaints from the German Minister that such-and-such actions were unfriendly. Even republication of The Reader's Digest in Swedish brought forth howls from Berlin newspapers. But the Swedes pay no attention. The press tries to be fair and impartial, but its honest editorial viewpoint often sends Goebbels' propaganda bureau into tantrums.

There is no censorship in Sweden even for foreign correspondents, who find Stockholm the best listening post in Europe today. There are restrictions, it is true, but only those which a responsible journalist imposes upon himself when he accepts the hospitality and protection of a foreign country. If a foreign correspondent endangers the nation's peace by his writings, he is requested to leave.

Even in the midst of the present grave crisis, the Swedish people's newspapers and the government's attitude embody a long cherished political axiom: "A country is good where people are allowed to say government is bad." That right still exists in Sweden today. So also does the right and the unanimous courage of newspapers and statemen to say that Nazism, fascism and communism, and everything those ideologies stand for, isn't in accordance with their conception of justice and decency.

ALBIN JOHNSON

Express

Railway lamps, red and green,
have in their kerosene conception
the reincarnation of an old song.
Dew-damp lawns, mossed terrace
with the granite spheres,
and secretive yews molded
by sinewed brown hands
to the memory of the peacock
and outlandish pelican.
We discreetly ignored
the sigh in the arbor
and devoted ourselves to iced drinks.

How can we recall
with calculation
memories of the ball;
the oscillation
of our hearts in time
with the midnight chime?
Midnight, and the pool
whose translucent flowers
in the clear and cool
water's deep night hours
their pale forms arrayed
in a serenade.
By the moon's reflected disk
the cypress traced an arabesque,
on the flagstones, square, prosaic,
the branches drew a deft mosaic.

The towered hall yellow bright
to vie with the garden's fairy colors
and all the glory that will not go
and will not return again.
The haycocked lane, the grassy terrace,
molting peacock, and the pool
green with slime. The owl
has tenanted the arbor
and the lights are only red.
The music, the lights, gay sound
of glass and laughter
withdraw before the harsh
insatiable onslaught
of the non-stop express.

PVT. R. F. CRACKNELL

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Washington Notes

Justified Pessimism

I WONDER HOW WELL the country understands the pessimism that broods over Washington these days? This is not merely the pathological gloom of the chronic reformer soured by the world's ills, but the considered view of the would-be optimist who hopes against hope that something worth while will be won from the present war, but who remembers the last one.

That Congress is now in a state of blind revolt anybody can see. When these notes appear the Seventy-eighth Congress will have been sitting two months. What is its record? Acrimony, rebellion and above all, disorganization. It is striking out fiercely at the President, labor and "bureaucrats" (a "bureaucrat" is anybody you dislike), but in doing so it is not offering a constructive program of its own but is injuring the war effort. Mischief-makers like Burt Wheeler, who have kept quiet since Pearl Harbor, are making themselves leaders of the fight to prevent the army from drafting those fathers of families who are not in essential occupations. The farm bloc is so bent on keeping the hired man down on the farm that it, too, threatens to interfere with the army's plans, while it is always quite willing, of course, to upset inflation controls. Just how far these twin revolts will go is anybody's guess, but they mean, if successful, that Congress has intervened in a vital point of war strategy and taken control away from the Commander-in-Chief and the military experts.

Even more dangerous is the possibility that one of these "mid-term deadlocks" is developing, which might well last until the next presidential election. Nobody has ever quite figured out how to meet this dread situation, unique to the American form of government under our constitutional separation of powers and rigid two-year elections. If presidential policies are repudiated at mid-term and a hostile party takes over, the President must keep office till his term expires, whether he can accomplish anything or not. Such a deadlock between President and Congress occurred in the 1929 depression under Hoover. Now New Dealers have little influence in Congress, and the coalition of Republicans and poll-tax Southerners have it, for the time being, their own confused way.

This would not be so bad if the coalition had something constructive to offer, but so far the revolters have distinguished themselves chiefly by showing that they hate labor with a keener, more intimate relish than they hate Hitler. A crusade against "absenteeism" is succeeding the earlier attack over the so-called "forty-hour week" issue, and once more the threat of anti-strike legislation is being injected into a fairly healthy situation where strikes amount to only about one-tenth of one percent of total time worked.

The aimlessness of the revolt is best illustrated in the shot-gun action of the House Appropriations Committee last week. Manpower Chief McNutt asked for a minor $2,454,000 item to equalize the pay of the demoralized United States Employment Service, where discontent is so rife that there was a 70-percent labor turnover last year. This agency must bear the brunt of the new national manpower-placement problem. The item was rejected. Frances Perkins had a modest request for $337,000 in the same bill to promote a state-aid program against absenteeism. Despite all the shouting about absenteeism, that was thrown out too. So were half a dozen similar home-front requests. And having turned down, on smug grounds of procedure, the request of the Children's Bureau for a preliminary $1,200,000 to help states provide medical care for newborn babies and pre-maternity care for wives of $50-a-month doughboys, the House turned its eager attention this week to the "millionaires' relief bill"—the Disney rider on the bill to increase the debt limit, to revoke the President's executive order limiting salaries to a miserable $25,000 net, in wartime.

There are indications that the congressional revolt is going too far, even for its own purpose. Conservative newspapers are beginning to protest certain actions, including the latest McKellar raid on the merit system. Mr. Roosevelt is biding his time, inviting "freshmen" congressmen to a get-together, making compromises on the farm-parity bill (which mean higher food costs for all of us) and holding his hand. Is this wise? I don't know. Some people advocate a head-on clash with the rebellious congressmen. But what does a President do in wartime when faced by a revolt that threatens the war effort?

The real danger in the situation is that isolationist leaders will turn the revolt to their own end and swing the congressional majority to what might ultimately result in a quiet sit-down strike against an all-out war. There are some indications that the situation is headed that way.

To meet the situation the President needs popular support. But here, if Washington correspondents are any judge, he runs into another problem. Is the President's franchise running out? There is a strong belief that it is, and that Mr. Roosevelt doesn't know it. From this distance, at any rate, 1944 doesn't look like a Democratic year.

The country's basic dissatisfaction, I think, lies not in petty irritations over sugar and shoe rations, or sectional or even group interests, but in a feeling of helplessness about the peace after the war. Again and again the argument comes back to that. The feeling is growing that maybe this is just another war. In the administration nobody but Wallace is saying much about things like post-war collective security, or associations of nations. The war is being fought against something, but not for something. The Four Freedoms are all right, but they have never been dramatized. The phrase does not warm the heart. Something more concrete is needed, some bolder stroke. Maybe the Sumner Welles speech at Toronto outlining plans for immediate post-war discussions means the start of something more specific. The mood of America reflected in Washington today is like that in the Civil War, before the Emancipation Proclamation.

And so, to be brief about it, I think the war needs a shot in the arm. What the country craves is a moral tonic. Announcement of specific, idealistic post-war aims, or some approach to it, would help Mr. Roosevelt in Congress; it would help the men in the factories; it might give the boys in the trenches a lot of help, too. Laugh if you want. But when a man dies, he wants to die for something important.

Washington T. R. B.

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Public Health under Hitler

GERMAN AUTHORITIES point to the birth-rate figures as proof that the German people are healthy. In spite of the war, which separated families, only about 100,000 fewer children were born in 1941 than in 1940. Total births are given as 1,528,000 in Greater Germany, excluding former Polish territory. The death rate of mothers was claimed to be lower and the infant-mortality rate static.

"Youth in Germany is healthy," says the Berliner Borsen-Zeitung proudly. "The German system of rationing for youth is well founded."

The German system of rationing for German youth is founded on the destruction of the youth of the rest of Europe. "We were warned [of the increase of tuberculosis] by the specialists in children's diseases, when the new ration card was introduced," says Dr. Henri Bouquet, writing in Le Temps. "They told us that, because of the meagerness of the rations allowed to children, tuberculosis would find in them an easy prey. This prophecy has been fulfilled. . . . Already children are being born whose weight is far below normal. This state of affairs is not likely to improve, as it has been established that undernourishment impairs the reproductive organs of young women. If this danger is not remedied, we are heading straight for disaster."

Likewise reported from France is an enormous increase in the number of cases of rickets, entailing deformation of the spine, and a growing number of women who experience great difficulty in childbirth because their pelvic girdle is the wrong shape, a result of deformation due to malnutrition, and which produces deformed children.

An interesting report on the population trend before the war has been published in Wirtschaft und Statistik. The number of living births increased from 791,174 in 1935, the post-war low, to 1,413,230 in 1939, a rise of 45 percent in the birth rate after Hitler came to power. This is attributed to the decrease in unemployment, the program of loans to newly married couples and the increased social and economic privileges granted to the parents of large families.

Wirtschaft und Statistik emphasizes that the significant aspect of this increase in the birth rate is that only one-quarter of the increase in births was due to an increase in the marriage rate. Three-quarters of the gain came from new births in families in existence in 1933. Of the increase in population between 1933 and 1939 resulting from the stimulated birth rate, the figure of 365,500 represents first children; 512,200, second; 314,200, third; 156,100, fourth; and 106,300, fifth children.

The number of illegitimate births in this period increased from 102,674 to 109,103, but the percentage of them, about 7.8, was the same.

For the first time the Reich Office of Statistics has published a report on the program of marriage loans, for the years 1937-39. The proportion of loan marriages to the total of marriages rose from 19 percent in 1937 to 41.6 percent in 1939, a striking growth. About three-fifths of the male applicants for marriage loans were under twenty-eight years of age. About two-fifths of the other marriages came in this age group.

The marriage loans, however, seem not to have led to premature or rash marriages. The proportion of marriages made by men under twenty-three years of age has been steadily declining. It was 7.4 percent in 1937 and 4.4 percent in 1939.

Almost three-fifths of the women applying for loans were under twenty-five at the time of their marriage. Less than two-fifths of the women marrying without loans were under twenty-five. Since the early twenties are particularly favorable for procreation, the loan marriages should show a higher number of children than the others.

Of the male applicants for loans, 56 percent were workmen and skilled craftsmen, 8.5 percent clerks, 5.2 percent agricultural laborers, 4.7 percent members of the armed forces. The report points out that this 74.4 percent of the applicants came from the economically weaker strata of the population. Among the female applicants for the loans, domestic servants come first, with 26.8 percent of the total. The program of marriage loans is now being liberalized for farmers and agricultural laborers.

Native Fascist, MGM Style

AT ONE POINT in the new Spencer Tracy-Katharine Hepburn movie the widow of the great American patriot, Robert Forrest, floats angelically into a room and poignantly places lilies before her late husband's portrait. At the end of the picture she tells you she had hated her husband so thoroughly and was so sure he threatened the freedom of a whole nation, that she murdered him without a pang.

"Keeper of the Flame" is disconcerting and irresponsible in this way. There is before you throughout the movie the bewildering paradox of Spencer Tracy, an ace reporter: stern and compassionate in his search for truth; yet actually blind as a bat and taken in at every turn. As a reporter he had witnessed the rise to power of the Fascists in Italy, Germany and Spain, and he was determined to fight to prevent the same thing from happening in this country. But he couldn't recognize an American fascist when he was shown one with all the trimmings. He was writing a hero-worshiping biography of Robert Forrest, without a suspicion that Forrest was not quite another Lincoln. He was oblivious of the fact that Forrest, at the moment of his death, was about to stage a good old Nazi *putsch* and set himself up as a dictator with storm-troopers, youth groups and race laws. There is then, behind the movie, this tricky proposition: that our native fascists hide their fascistic ideas from the people in order to rise to powerful positions, that such ideas can be hidden, and that when they are there is no way of telling a fascist from a democrat, since no one in this picture (not even The New Republic) suspected what Forrest was up to.

This MGM portrait of a native fascist starts at his death. What you find out about him comes out after an hour and twenty-five minutes of fencing, in a sort of formless, impotent, detective story. Steve O'Malley, the just reporter, in nosing around Forrest's estate to get material for his biography, finds a sullen gatekeeper who limps and knows something; Forrest's insane mother, whom no one knew about and who had been hidden away by someone for some reason; the gatekeeper's boy, who was ill because he thought he had killed Forrest; the gatekeeper's daugh-

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ter, whom someone had put into a sanitarium; a sulky brother-in-law who threatens to thrash O'Malley; and the wife who murdered her husband so as not to destroy the nation's illusion that he was their hero. At the end, with most of these not ordinary lives full of sinister behavior unaccounted for (the disturbing personality enters the picture, threatens to disclose something and vanishes, leaving a cloud behind, and another such personality appears), there is a long and boring monologue which does explain Forrest, but in the dullest movie way possible. The picture then immerses itself in Grade-C melodrama; the Hays Office has a ruling that the wife who murders her husband doesn't live: so Miss Hepburn doesn't live.

Cinematically, most successful are some shots taken during Forrest's funeral, which strike close to the more frigid, lifeless parts of American life in the same way some Grant Wood paintings do. Margaret Wycherly's performance as Forrest's insane mother, who hears her son's voice, does more in its brief span to indicate what kind of man Robert Forrest was, and why, than all the rest of the characters, who always threaten to but never do. The part of Forrest's secretary, who is about six miles past being a mere opportunist and a mere hypocrite, is written well, and with insight.

The movie throughout gets into interesting situations which don't materialize or stay interesting either; nevertheless it keeps you in your seat, and it is justified in cautioning us against the kind of person Forrest was. But such a vital problem as an American fascist and the reaction of the people to him would seem to call for less romanticizing and more attention to what an American fascist really is, and how he gets there.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

No event worth mentioning occurred along the front held by the bulk of Hungarian troops. Losses cannot yet be estimated. – *From the weekly Hungarian communiqué in The New York Times.*

That does not solve the entire Balkan problem because, frankly, I do not know what to do with Bulgaria. . . . – *Mayor LaGuardia, speaking before the World Confederation meetings, published in Free World.*

And Grow Moss on Your North Side

IMPROVEMENT ON NATURE! We've taken a natural mushroom-like fungus with a rich velvety texture and fascinating curly edges and fashioned it into perfectly enchanting flowers. Wear one on your lapel, tuck one in your hair, pin another on a calot! – *Advertisement of McCutcheon's in The New Yorker.*

The American Way, Plus Noblesse Oblige

All meetings this year are to be held at the Hotel Biltmore. As the Biltmore is giving us the use of meeting rooms free of charge, it will be courteous of all those of us who are spending either Friday or Saturday night in New York to stay at the Biltmore. To college and private-school teachers, they are making a special rate of $3 a day for a single room and $5 for a double room; to public high-school teachers, they are giving the "convention rates": $4.50 per day for a single room and $7 for a double room.

The Conference treasury is prepared to reimburse the public high-school members, upon application, for the difference between the special rate and the "convention rate." So, in effect, all members will pay the same amount. – *Notice of the Annual Midwinter Meeting of the School and College Conference on English.*

That All-Out Effort

CONGRESS CHEERS MME. CHIANG
AS FOE DRIVES TO CRUSH CHINA

– *Headline in The Washington Post.*

Total-War Department

One change that even the most avid party attender is undergoing is that whereas on an average Sunday he might have been able to get to anywhere between five and ten parties, his intake is now reduced to around two or at the most five, providing that the weather conditions and distances are all in his favor. – *From Harriet Hughes Crowley's Washington column, printed in The Detroit Free Press.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Trouble in Dixie

SIR: I suppose it natural that with an inherited group consciousness which a saner environment would have spared me, I am following Thomas Sancton's series of articles on "Trouble in Dixie" [January 4, 11 and 18] with a devouring interest. It does not surprise one who hardly has missed an issue of The New Republic in a decade, that it, thus far, has taken an honest position on the heated issue of race relations. Yet, in view of the fact that many so-called liberals have fled in terror at seeing the Negro pass "from the defensive to the offensive as a social group," this position is doubly commendable.

Not the least among the clear points brought out in Mr. Sancton's articles is the fact that many Southern whites are "responsible and upright people" on any subject other than the Negro. This definitely brings us to Virginius Dabney, John Temple Graves and their cohorts, who not only stand in the shadows of their slave-holding forefathers, but give substance to them. A case in point can be found in a chapter of a book being written by Graves and printed in the current issue of The Virginia Quarterly Review. He slyly and calmly states that a race riot broke out in Atlanta in 1906 after a series of criminal assaults on white women by Negroes. Referring to the same riot, Mr. Sancton accounts for it by stating that "a criminally irresponsible editor had got out a series of extras carrying faked accounts of assaults by Negroes on white women."

I cannot know if Princeton University did or does anything toward teaching its John Temple Graveses what they could know about Negroes; and, after all, "the ignorant are not informed by being confirmed in a confusion."

The tragic fact is that Southern editors do not have the integrity to discharge the responsibility they have. That some of them favor the New Deal does not mean that the term "New Dealer" is synonymous with "liberal." Virginius Dabney has

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taken the phrase: "The South does not now nor within the measurable future" (intend to allow this or that on the part of the Negro) and made a chesty refrain of it. He likes to argue for the continuance of segregated education in America. How else, he says, shall we be able to avoid amalgamation? This implies that he assumes himself to have something valid to lose by this process. What can it be—racial purity? Segregation has its evil implications. What would help Dabney is about half the dispassionate intelligence of a J. Saunders Redding or the late W. J. Cash.

The charge is being brought that Negro "agitators," and particularly the Negro press, is trying "to change things overnight." This charge, worked up into a reactionary slogan, could be used to bury the progress of colored people for another century. What is dismissed is the fact that Negroes have worked far into the night already. The Negro press is printing practically the same type of news it printed fifteen years ago when I first started reading it. It has been able to do this because the same thing has been happening to Negroes for the past fifteen years. Panic has brought it to the attention of the nation.

However much this question is argued, however much paper the OWI sees fit to waste "informing" Negroes of how far they have come from their past (I have not seen this balanced with how far whites have come from theirs), cynicism and dissatisfaction will result from the Negroes' constantly asking themselves this question: How much freedom have we in relation to the resources of freedom in this country? We are quite human enough to clamor for freedom so long as we see ourselves surrounded by free people. The age of slavery does not confer justification and venerableness on it. And if freedom were not worth something, we would still be waiting for the Germans and Japs to come after us.

Baltimore, Md. HENRY FRENCH WINSLOW

SIR: As a Southerner, may I ask if The New Republic and other liberal journals are not unseeing in adopting editorial attitudes toward the South, particularly in respect to racial relations, that arouse an immediate instinctive resentment in virtually every Southerner, including those of us who tend to liberalism and what Vice President Wallace calls ethnic democracy, and in whom it seems to me must lie the hopes for any early improvement of the status of the Negro in the South?

Whether or not Southern liberals—who I know it may be charged are no true liberals—are justified in taking this offense does not matter. It is important only that they do.

I think it is apparent that the long efforts of the non-Southern liberals to relieve the racial pressure on the Negroes of the South have accomplished nothing. The thing is today as bad as it ever was. The resulting feeling of impotency and loss may be partially responsible for these liberals' lack of sympathy for the South. This ineffectiveness it seems to me is due principally to the third-person attitude which the liberal press takes toward the South. The New Republic, for instance, writes much of and about the South, but it never writes TO the South. Always the South is "they," never "you" or a part of "we." The South is a region set apart, a foreign land, an intruder into the liberal conception of America.

The liberal weeklies almost take the complexion of house organs, with the South in the position of the customer who is not intended to read what is written. It must sometimes appear to other Southerners as it does to me, that the liberal press neither plans nor hopes to make an actual contribution to the Negro cause, and that the mere writing about racial freedom is the end in itself.

How can it be expected that any Southerner should read and approve and find inspiration in the articles and editorials of The New Republic? Yet, it seems to me that there can be little hope for betterment of the Negro's lot in the South except through the white people of the South. Many things combine to make the South what it is today. It is in the white man's mind that these various influences are gathered and directed toward the Negro to make what is called race prejudice and discrimination. It is the white man's mind that is the focal point and it would seem logical that efforts to help the Negro of the South should be addressed toward this white man's mind. Yet this is not done. The great failure of the liberal movement for real democracy in the South is that it has never really penetrated the mass of Southern thought and opinion. There are scattered salients about Southern liberals, but because even Southern liberals cannot accept wholeheartedly the Northern liberal viewpoint with its smack of anti-South, these salients stay shallow.

Mr. Thomas Sancton, with his New Orleans background, reveals a somewhat broader understanding of the South and its Negroes than has been usual in The New Republic. But even Mr. Sancton, after his recent trip of inquiry into the South, goes back to New York and writes, not a report on what he found, but a report *to the North* on what he found. There is a distinct difference there. Southerners are evidently missing from the hypothetical audience to which Mr. Sancton addresses his pieces. Mr. Sancton, The New Republic and all Northern liberals seem quite unconsciously to discriminate against the South in their thinking, excluding the South from all considerations except as subject matter. I wonder if perhaps this is not another evidence of the general discriminatory attitude of the North toward the South, as evidenced for example in freight rates, which has served to give the South the same position in the national picture that the Negro occupies in the Southern picture. Southerners are accused of narrow regionalism, but are not the critics who view the South apart as a section solely responsible for its own shortcomings themselves guilty of an inverted regionalism? Mr. Sancton says that the rising race tension of the South is a result partly of the growing economic independence of the Negro since war began. Isn't this in effect a declaration that the South's insufficiency has been a major cause of the oppression of the Negroes, and that one broad avenue of hope for a new social emancipation of the Negro in the South is an economic emancipation of the South generally?

Mr. Sancton and others have charged the Southern newspaper with the responsibility of furnishing the leadership for a readjustment in the South in favor of the Negroes. But I think this omits the consideration that the Southern newspaper, too, is a part of the South's feudal economic structure and that, unless independently rich or subsidized, no Southern newspaper could continue to exist if it took racial equality as a major issue. No, the Southern newspaper can serve best in an assisting part; the major leadership must come from outside the South. The theme of my complaint is that the liberal press, which should be the organ of this outside leadership, as yet has failed utterly in its role.

I do not ask that the South be spared what castigation is necessary. But I do ask that the South be viewed in full perspective. I do not ask for a sympathetic consideration that the South today and its people are a result, not a cause; that they have been shaped by a thousand influences; that the responsibility for the South today and everything in it lies not just upon the South but upon the whole nation.

And I plead for some tolerantly wise and far-sighted leadership in a program to help the Negroes in which can participate with good conscience the thousands of white men and women of the South who, although not intellectuals tuned to a full realization of the imports of racial discrimination, nevertheless have the "warm hearts" to feel at least a part of the injustice and tragedy of the Negro's position.

I am aware that the word practical is in disrepute generally with liberals. But isn't it possible to have a practical yet liberal

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program to help the Southern Negro? Or is the liberal press merely paying lip-homage to the Great God Liberalism?

ROBERT LASSETER,
Murfreesboro, Tenn. Editor, The Rutherford Courier

[I should like to add two explanatory footnotes to the first letter, by Mr. Winslow. First, the Atlanta riot of 1906. My point of view on this subject was formed some years ago by a reading of "Liberalism in the South," by Virginius Dabney. In this book Mr. Dabney expresses himself very clearly as to the riot's causes. Later I studied other source material on the riot and found nothing to disprove Mr. Dabney's statements or which I felt required a change in my own point of view, on the basis of either logic or loyalty.

Second, Mr. Winslow's statement that these "Southern editors do not have the integrity to discharge the responsibility they have." I think it is a mistake to accuse these men of lack of integrity. Integrity consists in a man's keeping faith with what he believes is true, and I think these editors possess this quality to a high degree. Their tragedy is that—despite whatever humanitarian and liberal sentiments they hold as individuals—they believe beyond any reach of argument that the Negro is biologically a low-grade human being and biologically the white man's inferior. They use a rather courteous double-talk to express themselves on this subject, but this nevertheless is what they believe. Their tragedy is that none of the books they have read, or written, none of the universities they have attended or taught at, and none of the experiences of their Southern lives have shaken them from a superficial and fallacious belief in a racist idea which is fundamentally not different from the shameful claptrap that Southern editors, college presidents and clergymen were writing before the Civil War. Noah had three sons, and he cursed Ham, who saw his nakedness, the Bible says. Using this basis, and a medieval scholar's fantastic enlargements upon it, the pro-slavery writers argued that Negroes had inherited the curse of Ham, and in this way they justified slavery. But today one searches in vain the writings of leading anthropologists for any deviation from the simple thesis that, though there are obvious and measurable physical racial differences, there are no racial superiorities. (The Negro, who came here a slave, has had to waste fighting for the simplest rights most of the social energies by which a people improves its intellectual, moral and physical standards.) It is respectable anthropology, and not the old pseudo-Biblical racism, that the Jesuit priests of Fordham University teach in their course in interracial relations. So one can see that on this question it is also human intelligence and honesty which are agitating, and not only "Northern Negro radicals." Or white ones like myself, to quote John Temple Graves, who has seen fit to attack my good faith in his Southern syndicated column, "This Morning."

The real tragedy of the Southern editors is not a lack of integrity, but the fact that they grew up in a Southern white society in which it was considered a high crime to employ objective intelligence in studies of race relations. These editors accepted the old prejudices. And even this war, with all its impelling meanings of race and freedom, has failed to make them turn back courageously and gaze upon their fathers' ideas. Instead they walk backward with cloaks to cover the nakedness of these ideas, as Shem and Japheth covered the nakedness of Noah.

As for the second letter, I have met Mr. Lasseter's argument before, and critics of the South will meet it forever. Or they will meet it until the day when it is overwhelmed by the mounting pressures its fundamentally unyielding spirit is causing. I know Mr. Lasseter's argument, because not many years ago I was making it. Address yourself to the Southern white man, this argument says (I address every word to him); if he will not yield, do not command him to, because it will do no good. An early memory comes back to me: the Violet Crevasse below New Orleans in 1923, when the Mississippi River commanded the levee to yield. The levee refused, and the great brown tide burst through and ruined the countryside. Mr. Lasseter says racial pressure on the Negroes "is today as bad as it ever was." I think it is time for him and other Southerners and for white people throughout the world to look into their own hearts for the reason. – THOMAS SANCTON]

The British in India

SIR: From The New York Times of February 13, 1943, page 24:

940 killed (twice our dead on Guadalcanal);
1,630 injured;
60,229 arrested;
26,000 convicted;
18,000 detained without trial. . . .

The British heel in India. The record covers from August, 1942. The Viceroy reports it like so many stuck hogs on line in a Chicago packinghouse.

North Rose, N. Y. L. J. SALTER

Soldiers' Reading

SIR: After seeing Pvt. Henry Bennett's letter on what soldiers are reading in Miami [The New Republic, January 4], I decided to compare it with the literary tastes here.

A few intellectuals do read the group Bennett mentions—Mystery Detective, Intimate Detective, etc., and our PX carries an assortment of them. But by far the heaviest sellers in these parts are the comic books. These are published by: Superman Comics Magazines (Detective Comics, Inc.), Dell Publishing Company, and Fawcett Publications.

Dell has Looney Tunes and Merry Melodies (featuring Bugs Bunny and Porky Pig, Private Detectives), New Funnies (with Raggedy Ann and Andy, the Brownies, Billy and Bonny Bee) and War Heroes. Fawcett has Captain Marvel.

Detective Comics publishes eight monthly, six bi-monthly and six quarterly magazines. All of them considerably wilder than Dell, and somewhat wilder than Fawcett—the stuff that kids make nightmares of. Superman, Batman, Wonderwoman and Glamorous Catwoman are presumably made fit for the child mind by a glossy Editorial Advisory Board. . . .

Batman, with Robin the Boy Wonder, seems to be the heavy seller in this group. Batman is a handsome physical specimen with bent for vigilantism. He foils gangsters, criminals and civic corruption, setting the world to rights with his fists. Plots run to dual personalities and criminals are anti-social megalomaniacs (like Hitler—get it?). Everything is streamlined and mechanized, on land and sea, and in the air, and even characters. There's plenty of bogus science too. . . .

Camp Silbert, Ala. CPL. MAUS V. DARLING

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Mr. Daniel J. Smith of Pass Christian, Mississippi, writes in high dudgeon to complain about the current radio advertising of Philip Morris cigarettes, "which claims that unnamed medical authorities have observed that smokers suffering from coughs or throat irritations, and who have changed to Philip Morris from other brands, have in almost every case had the irritation clear up or have noticed an improvement."

"Of all the rot!" writes Mr. Smith indignantly. "I have smoked everything from cornsilk to chewing tobacco and the only thing which to my knowledge can cure smoker's cough is to stop smoking. Those are some medical authorities I must say."

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Books in Review

Mencken and Mark Twain

IN DESCRIBING his childhood, H. L. Mencken devotes several pages to his discovery of "Huckleberry Finn," which he calls "probably the most stupendous event of my whole life. . . . If I undertook to tell you the effect it had upon me my talk would sound frantic, and even delirious. I had not gone further than the first incomparable chapter before I realized, child though I was"—he was nine years old—"that I had entered a domain of new and gorgeous wonders, and thereafter I pressed steadily on to the last word." He also read everything else by Mark Twain that he could find in the house, but "Huckleberry Finn" was the book to which he returned time and again; he tells us that he read it at least once a year until he was forty, and twenty years later he went through it once more, finding it as magnificent as ever.

After reading his three books of memoirs,[1] you feel that Mark Twain must have been the decisive influence in forming both his style and his literary picture of himself. All his life he has been, not a Connecticut Yankee but something quite similar, a Baltimore bourgeois at the court of ideas, eager to strip them of their romantic armor. All his life he has been rephrasing and modernizing the rather innocent bitterness of Mark Twain's later years. And there must have been times when he regarded himself as another Huck Finn—the bad boy at Sunday school, the bad boy at political conventions, the bad boy of literary criticism and highbrow magazines. If that is the case, however, you have to imagine that Huck was really the son of Judge Thatcher, and that no matter how many jokes he played or how many stretchers he told, he never really defied the standards of the owning classes. This was a Huck Finn who came home for supper every night and slept in his own bed.

Grown old, he likes to boast of his brass-bound and copper-riveted conservatism. He achieved it honestly, by direct descent and right of primogeniture. His father, August Mencken, was a prosperous cigar manufacturer who believed that all mankind "was divided into two great races: those who paid their bills and those who didn't. The former were virtuous," says his oldest son, "despite any evidence that could be adduced to the contrary; the latter were unanimously and incurably scoundrels." Father August was a kindly man in his own household, but he was convinced that working people belonged to the scoundrelly race; and his favorite story was of the trick by which he drove the Baltimore cigar-makers' union into bankruptcy. Young Mencken acquired his father's ideas along with his father's taste for good St. Louis beer and strong-smelling Pennsylvania tobacco. His first job was in his father's non-union factory.

[1] "Heathen Days: 1890-1936" has just appeared (309 pages, $3). The two earlier volumes are "Happy Days: 1880-1892" (324 pages, $2.75) and "Newspaper Days: 1899-1906" (324 pages, $3). All three are published by Alfred A. Knopf.

He says of himself, "I was a larva of the comfortable and complacent bourgeoisie, though I was quite unaware of the fact until I was along in my teens, and had begun to read indignant books. To belong to that great order of mankind is vaguely discreditable today, but I still maintain my dues-paying membership in it, and continue to believe that it was and is authentically human." One of his bourgeois traits is what he calls "a kind of caginess that has dissuaded me, at all stages of my life, from attempting enterprises clearly beyond my power." Another trait derived partly from his background but more from within himself is a strict honesty that is not confined to financial matters. There were times when he could have sold just a little of his independence or just a few of his personal convictions for very stiff prices, but he always refused these offers even when they were disguised as opportunities to improve the world. The master shoemaker stuck to his last.

Still another of the bourgeois traits he reveals is contempt and even hatred for all the people living on the wrong side of the tracks. He is very funny on the subject of their faults and misfortunes, but after a while the reader tires of his humor and begins to feel that there is too much gleeful malice in his stories of the Negroes beaten over the head and skilled workingmen arrested because it was time to paint and repair the city jail. In his newspaper days, he rather enjoyed being present at hangings—"I found the work light and instructive," he says, without bothering to pretend that he pitied the men who were dying. It is not that Mencken is cruel by temperament. When he was editing The American Mercury there were dozens of stories about his kindness to young writers, and everybody knows that he is devoted to his friends. He seems to feel, however, that only the bourgeoisie is authentically human. The rest of mankind belongs to a subhuman species whose members can best be described as bucks and wenches, blackamoors, apes, simians, anthropoids and stumblebums. These are some of Mencken's favorite words, and his use of them reveals a defect that is not so much of the heart as of the imagination. He simply cannot believe that people outside the middle classes are worth the trouble of trying to understand them.

If anybody wonders why he seems a much smaller figure than Mark Twain, and less important in the history of American letters, I think we are not far from the answer. Except in point of imagination, Mencken comes close to his earliest model and sometimes even surpasses him. He is much more at home in the world of ideas than Mark Twain ever learned to be. He never makes Twain's enormous blunders in taste—not because his own taste is extremely good, but because it is always on the same level. He is a marvelous story-teller, even when he hasn't much of a story to tell, as in several chapters of his latest book. His style is one that other writers admire and hundreds of them used to imitate. They never did more than a botched job, because the original was completely suited to his own personality—picturesque, clear, self-satisfied and

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never attempting anything beyond its power. It reduces the universe to something within four walls—something simple, boisterous, but not disorderly—let us say a middle-class Munich beerhall in the good days of Wilhelm II. Mark Twain always sweeps you outside; and the raft floats down the river into the mist; and each village it passes is a separate world, full of the human misery, cowardice and kindness that Mencken claims to despise.

Indeed, if he had written "Huckleberry Finn," it would have been a very different book. Huck himself, coming from a shiftless family, could scarcely have been the principal character. Nigger Jim would merely have been a stupid, good-natured blackamoor. The real heroes would have been the King and the Duke, who royally defrauded the yokels on both banks of the river, and thereby proved Mencken's thesis about human rascality. The book would have ended with both of them preparing for greater exploits in Washington. It would have made a hilarious story, but no little boy would have read it word by word and have found at the end that his life had been forever transformed.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Report on the Far East

I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, by Col. Carlos P. Romulo. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 323 pages. $3.
Behind the Japanese Mask, by Jesse F. Steiner. New York: The Macmillan Company. 158 pages. $2.
Pacific Charter: Our Destiny in Asia, by Hallett Abend. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 302 pages. $2.50.
Exchange Ship, by Max Hill. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 312 pages. $2.50.

BOOKS BY NEWSPAPERMEN usually have the merit of timeliness and are valuable as sources of information, if the writers have the ability of looking beneath the surface and interpreting the events described in the cables which they send to their home papers. Three of the books listed herewith, which were written by newspapermen, do have the merits of timely information dealing with the Far East. The fourth, which was written by a college professor who taught in Japan, is equally valuable as a source of information.

Of the three books by newspapermen, that of Col. Carlos P. Romulo, "I Saw the Fall of the Philippines," takes first rank in dramatic interest. Colonel Romulo participated in the defense of the Philippines and was present at the fall of Bataan on the night of April 8, 1942, "after four months in hell," which he describes as having three compartments—Manila, Corregidor and Bataan.

Although he has the title of colonel and fought by the side of General MacArthur and Lieutenant-General Wainwright, Carlos Romulo was—before Pearl Harbor—the editor and publisher of an important string of Philippine newspapers. He is a graduate of the University of the Philippines (1918), Columbia (1922), Notre Dame (1935) and in 1942 he won the Pulitzer Prize for foreign correspondence. He received the Pulitzer award for a series of forty-five articles he wrote on an assignment in the Far East which he described as "a search for democracy."

Romulo had returned to Manila only a few days before the war came to his own land. His report to President Quezon and General MacArthur on conditions in the lands he visited sheds much light on the mystery of Japan's almost uninterrupted march down the coast of Asia, beginning at Hong Kong and ending with the conquest of Burma and the Netherlands Indies. He did not visit India. Referring to the attitude of the native people in Hong Kong, French Indo-China, Siam, the Netherlands Indies and Burma, Romulo declared, "Everywhere in the Orient I met universal disrespect for the native." In Burma and the Netherlands East Indies the educated strata of the native populations were openly pro-Japanese, according to the author. He quotes an educated and cultured Indonesian girl in Batavia, a graduate of Barnard College, who said, "Anything is better for us than life under the Dutch." In conversations with nationalist leaders in Burma he told them about the sufferings of the Chinese at the hands of Japanese invaders, "but the native Burmese, who opened their hearts to me as a fellow oriental, insisted that any change would be better than their exploitation by their present masters." In Rangoon the editors of native newspapers "confessed to me they were anti-British and pro-Japanese." The widespread animosity toward occidental rulers did not apply in the Philippines, however, according to Colonel Romulo. In explanation, he referred to the attitude of his own father, who had opposed the American occupation but ultimately had surrendered to the Americans "because they had promised us independence."

Romulo quotes other leaders of the Indonesian nationalist party at Rangoon who said "with the exception of the Americans in the Philippines, all the nations are here to exploit us." Much of this pro-Japanese sentiment he attributed to Japanese fifth-column work, but it is obvious that smoldering discontent resulting from oppression had paved the way for Japanese conquest. In connection with Japanese fifth-column activities Romulo refers to the widespread Japanese use of Buddhist monks as a spearhead for Japanese propaganda. "I can only assume that the Japanese had planned to Japanize the Catholic Philippines through the advancement of Buddhism," he says.

In Saigon, French Indo-China, Romulo found the French helpless under Japanese authority: "French women did not dare peep out of their windows for fear of being seen by Japanese officers—police records listed from fifty to one hundred cases a day of assault on women by Japanese soldiers."

Romulo's book is the first by a native Filipino to describe the futile fight against the Japanese invader of his homeland—the only place in the Orient outside of China where native peoples opposed the Japanese. The author frankly declares that the only reason the Filipino sprang to the assistance of the Americans was because America had promised them independence and was helping them, educationally and otherwise, to prepare for the responsibilities of democracy and independence.

The story of the epic struggle of the small force of 7,000 American soldiers and 75,000 Filipinos against 250,000 Japanese should be read by every American. Romulo describes it as "a hopeless fight by men who gradually lost hope as their numbers shrank and more Japanese poured down the hills and scaled the cliffs of Bataan. . . .

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I saw Filipino boys I knew and loved blown to shreds before my eyes—as an American soldier put it, 'trapped like rats but dying like men.'"

The other books, Abend's "Pacific Charter," Hill's "Exchange Ship" and Steiner's "Behind the Japanese Mask," though less dramatic, also provide an insight regarding the situation in the Far East which we must understand if we hope to win against Japan.

Professor Steiner, who is now chairman of the Department of Sociology of the University of Washington at Seattle, taught in North Japan College, Sendai, from 1905 to 1912 and has written numerous magazine articles dealing with Japanese population and education problems. His book contains important information not generally known about social conditions in Japan. The chapters dealing with women, marriage and morals, regimentation of the people and exploitation of the poor point to weak spots in Japan's armor. "Behind the Japanese Mask" is the story of a people recently emerged from feudalism who have grafted on to their old civilization the particular things from Western civilization which they required for a specific purpose—the development of a powerful military state. With this new power the ruling groups, dominated by war lords, exploited the masses in barbarous fashion, the purpose being to obtain the wherewithal for world conquest. Japan's rulers overlooked nothing in their program, which began with the teaching of Japanese youths that they are superior to other peoples because of their "divine descent from the gods," and went on to deliberate exploitation of their women in factories, geisha houses and brothels for the enrichment of the state. In his opinion the power of interlocking group relationships is too great to permit Japan's defeat by fomenting revolution. He concludes, "The Japanese war will end only when their resources are outmatched by overwhelming numbers and power of their enemies."

Max Hill's "Exchange Ship" is of special value because of his description of Japan "as she was geared for war in the summer of 1941, since it was only a few days later that both the United States and Japan took the steps which brought about the war." He says that more than half of Japan's industry and shipping is in the hands of five great families, the best known of which are the Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo interests. Quoting the author: "We have nothing in the United States to compare to the extent and diversity of their holdings. . . . These profit-hungry clans, whose purses are fat from the poverty of millions of Japanese, may have opposed war with the United Nations at one time but through the China affair they had a taste of the quick profits which could come from conflict and now their fingers are sticky with the wealth they hope to control in the South Seas. . . . Now the once liberal capitalists are marching down the same blood-drenched highway of aggression, goose-stepping in unison with the military exploiters."

Max Hill was head of the Associated Press Bureau in Tokyo, was interned with most of the American residents of Japan on the morning of Pearl Harbor and was held in confinement under abominable conditions until the exchange was effected last May.

Hallett Abend, author of "Pacific Charter: Our Destiny in Asia," was for many years correspondent for The New York Times in the Far East. Mr. Abend asks, and attempts to answer, the question, "We have an Atlantic Charter but what are we to do about the great problem which Asia and her vast population present to the peacemakers?" He analyzes conditions in various European colonies which have passed under Japanese military control, beginning with Korea and proceeding down the coast to Indo-China, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and Burma, and in each case suggests some form of tutelage until they are ready for independent nationhood. In this connection Abend probably will be accused of advocating a "new order" of Occidental colonialism in the Orient—and he may be right about it, in view of the unpreparedness for independence which prevails in all of the continental and oceanic colonies, with the possible exception of the Philippines, where tutelage in self-government began in 1900 when William Howard Taft headed the first Philippine Commission. For two years previously, the Philippines experienced military rule by the United States Army. In none of the continental colonies, with the exception of Britain's Hong Kong, was anything done to prepare the native for governing himself. The Siamese were independent before the war (we gave up extraterritoriality there several years ago), but after warding off the British and French for many decades, the government surrendered the country to the Japanese practically without a struggle. Japanese penetration of Siam began more than a dozen years ago, when the Japanese made a contract with the Siamese government to build a Siamese navy. The Siamese also made a deal with an American aviation company to build a factory in Siam, but Japan later required the Siamese government to agree, in the event of a war involving either of the countries, to

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hand over the factory and planes to Japan. As a result of long fifth-columnist activity and an overwhelming show of force, Japan accomplished the occupation of Siam in less than twenty-four hours. The collapse of Siam opened the way for Japan's drive into Malaya, Burma and the Netherlands Indies.

JOHN B. POWELL

Quintessence of Dust

Shakespeare and the Nature of Man, by Theodore Spencer. New York: The Macmillan Company. 233 pages. $2.75.

TO SAY THAT THIS is a very timely book will surprise only those who believe that discussion of Shakespeare, not to mention the nature of man, should be out for the duration. For others it is bound to possess a deeper relevance than the latest war journal or the latest blueprint for the future. Like recent volumes by F. T. Stace, W. M. Dixon, Reinhold Niebuhr and other hard-working amateurs of the human, it attempts, among other things, to throw some light on what is happening in the world at present by some consideration of the human past. Man, in the abstract, has become in certain quarters quite the rage. It is a rare radio address of any dimensions that can refrain from frequent invocation of his dignity. What Mr. Spencer's book does is not only to restate what once was meant by this abstraction but also to suggest the very careful and difficult redefinitions that we must make if it is to regain any real content.

The main difference between Shakespeare's age and our own, according to Mr. Spencer, is that the first "was breaking into chaos, while our age is trying to turn chaos into order." Shakespeare was born into an age that had an inherited and therefore largely unconscious system of order that took care of all man's most important relations—to God, to nature, to society and to himself. It was a hierarchical order in which every movement of the human organism was inevitably involved in the movement of the universe as a whole. By quoting from a number of lesser known sixteenth-century writers, Mr. Spencer makes us aware how much this conception of the parallel between the human order and the separate orders of the cosmos, Nature and the State was part of the general mind. His thesis is that while this view is essentially an optimistic one, in its emphasis on the very special role that man plays as the connecting link between the higher and lower realms of being, it led in time to a gloomy insistence on the inadequacy with which most men fulfilled the role. It led to the mood of Hamlet's "What a piece of work is a man. . . ." And, indeed, this conflict at the Renaissance between the theoretical and the actual, between what men pretended to be and what they are, finds its culmination "as Shakespeare presents the discovery of the evil actuality under the good appearance, and describes the individual passion or weakness which has to be destroyed before order can prevail once more."

Even more spontaneously, one feels, Mr. Spencer is concerned with showing the relation of the explicit beliefs and attitudes operative in the Elizabethan age to Shakespeare's use of the dramatic medium and to his final vision of life. Like most modern scholars, he agrees that it was no accident that tragedy should have appeared in England at this particular moment: concern over "the paragon of animals"—in this case, a revival of the medieval sense of sin and limitations in protest against the over-inflated humanism of the early Renaissance—has always, and everywhere, been the motive behind formal tragedy. The Elizabethan age was fortunate in having at hand for its purposes the well developed tradition of the medieval morality play. And Shakespeare, too, was fortunate in being able to turn the familiar and generally accepted conventions of this form to the uses of his own development as a poet and a man of his age.

Most of the analysis of the separate plays is centered on the problem of appearance and reality, as it is evaded, confronted or resolved by the tragic heroes. In the early dramas the problem is suggested but not really treated: Romeo's idealized passion is shown for what it is, youthful lust, but not by Romeo himself; the tragedy has an external cause—the stars. The Renaissance difficulties over good and evil are talked about but not put "inside" the hero so that they tear his consciousness to pieces. In the great plays of the middle period these difficulties constitute the whole action, and in "Hamlet," "Lear" and "Othello" a resolution occurs when the hero is made to see both the real evil beneath the apparent good and the real good beneath the apparent evil. Dramas like "Coriolanus" and "Timon" correspond to a period when Shakespeare seems to have abandoned himself to the vision of mankind as irredeemably evil. To Mr. Spencer they are a deathlike prelude to the free and life-affirming mood of "The Tempest." Unfortunately, however, to the dis-

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cussion of this play he allows too little space; one feels that it is not enough simply to say that here "is a rebirth, a return to life, a heightened, almost symbolic, awareness of the beauty of normal humanity after it has been purged of evil—a blessed reality under the evil appearance." We are left with too many final questions—not only about this play but about Shakespeare in general. Is he, as Santayana and others maintain, devoid of any qualified intellectual attitude toward life or experience? How is his view of man distinguishable from the romantic, which is still so much with us? Does he offer us any new system of ordered belief to take the place of the old whose disappearance he records?

To raise these questions is not to demand answers but to indicate the pertinence of such a study as this to an age in which the moral bewilderment that racked Shakespeare's heroes has been extended to every department of human activity and on a worldwide scale. We too are making heavy payments for having failed too consistently in our imagination to make the right discriminations between the real good and the real evil. What was tragic vision in Shakespeare has become for us historical actuality. And reëxamination of the nature of man becomes a matter not only of philosophical but practical necessity. Mr. Spencer's is the most up-to-date work on Shakespeare in every sense of the word—in its method of approach, in its synthesis of all the best recent work on the subject, and in its implications.

WILLIAM TROY

Note to Washington

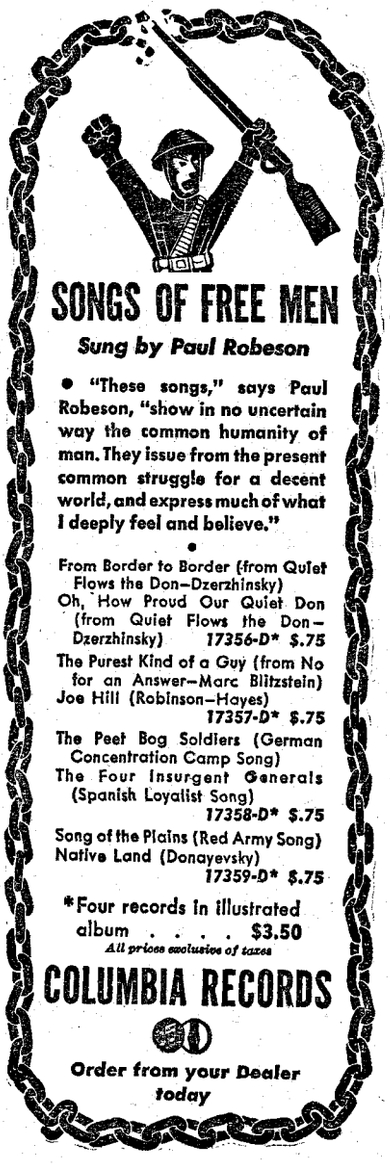
Patterns of Negro Segregation, by Charles S. Johnson. New York: Harper and Brothers. 332 pages. $3.50.

WASHINGTON, it is reported, is perturbed by the grave question of Negro morale. If this concern is more than superficial, federal officials may profitably spend a few hours in the careful reading of Dr. Johnson's objective and comprehensive study of the disabilities under which nearly one-tenth of our population lives. In "Patterns of Negro Segregation," the second of a series of studies of the Negro in American life sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, they will find the answers to many of the questions which perplex them. And, as Dr. Johnson has already attained an authoritative position as a sound scholar in the field of racial relations, they may well heed his words.

Whatever fury the author, himself a Negro, may have experienced in the preparation of this volume, he has effectively sublimated in his writing. The result is a coldly logical documentation of race relations in America today. To augment his already extensive knowledge in this field, Dr. Johnson undertook an intensive study of Negro segregation customs in selected areas in the rural and urban South and in certain cities in the Border and Northern states. His study traces the historical development of racial segregation and discrimination, reveals the extent and nature of the controls through which these patterns are imposed, analyzes the ideology which has been developed to rationalize the irreconcilable conflict between our democratic doctrine and the practice of discrimination, and reports the Negro's behavioral response to the restrictions imposed upon him.

Segregation, as Dr. Johnson justifiably uses the term, embraces not merely spatial separation but also "all conventions and social ritual designed to enforce social isolation and social distance." So deeply imbedded in the American tradition are these conventions that they are often regarded as "natural." Dr. Johnson maintains that racialism and free individual economic initiative have been from colonial times the "two fundamental principles . . . actively shaping American institutions and the American way of life." Throughout the South, these conventions, inherited from the slave past, have been incorporated into law. Now sanctioned by public opinion of the white majority and enforced by terror, racialism is the keystone holding in place the divergent elements which compose the Solid South. Elsewhere in the nation, racial restrictions are not customarily written into the law; nevertheless, they persist despite prohibitive statutes. Although not usually Jim Crowed in public institutions and transportation in the North, the Negro is restricted in his place of residence and often encounters difficulty in obtaining hotel, restaurant and theatre accommodations, the law notwithstanding. So vast and powerful are the social forces arrayed against him that not even the most favorably situated Negro can escape unseared. Neither wealth nor attainment nor public position assures protection to any Negro against the crushing forces of race prejudice.

As the author points out, "Theoretically, segregation is merely the separate but equal treatment of equals. In such a complex and open society as our own, this is, of course, neither possible nor intended; for whereas the general principle of social regulation and selection is based upon individual competition, such group segregation within the broad social framework must be effected artificially and by the imposition of arbitrary restraints. The result is that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there can be no group segregation without discrimination, and discrimination is neither democratic nor Christian."

The Negro's reaction to this Jim Crow pattern ranges from submissive acceptance commonly found in the rural South to openly expressed hostility and organized counter-attack in Northern cities. Although spatial and institutional segregation is seldom challenged in the Deep South, there is evidence, Dr. Johnson indicates, of increasing resentment against the discrimination inherent in the whole pattern of segregation. It is the growing and undeniably legitimate bitterness of this resentment which is becoming of more grave concern not alone to the friends of democracy but also to our domestic fascists. Contrary to the opinion held in certain quarters, this more articulate resentment is not the consequence of agitation by Negro leaders and the Negro press. Rather it is the reaction of the masses to the discriminations imposed upon them in the midst of a war which is represented as a life and death struggle for human freedom. Even the illiterate Negro comprehends the contradiction between the American way of life as he is compelled to live it and all the fine and noble words about democracy and the four freedoms.

Although writing with his customary restraint, Dr. Johnson is more outspoken in his conclusions than in "Shadow of the Plantation" and other of his earlier works. Here he proposes definitive action on the part of the federal government. "Logically," he contends, "it would be appropriate for government to impose controls and regulations, as mandatory as those imposed on its economic life, to ensure to all its racial minorities not only free but equal participation in the economic and political life of the country. In fact, before the present war is ended, such action may become a political necessity."

It is to federal action impelled by economic imperatives that Dr. Johnson looks for amelioration of race relations. Yet there is today no indication that Washington will take effective steps either to eliminate segregation or to halt its spread. Indeed, federal agencies have not only perpetuated these anti-democratic patterns but have also introduced spatial segregation into areas where it had not previously existed. The vested interests which thrive upon racialism have a weighty voice in the determination of racial policy in Washington. If we are to achieve a really free and democratic society, those interests must be challenged and overwhelmed by the liberal forces which have fought for industrial democracy. Such an attack upon segregation as a basic wrong will not only improve Negro morale, but will also indicate to the millions of our non-white allies that democracy in America is a real and living force.

HENRY LEE MOON

Contributors

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ALBIN JOHNSON has been a foreign correspondent since 1924, both in Europe and the Orient. Last year the International News Service sent him to Portugal, Ireland and Sweden. In February he became the first American correspondent to get into Finland since she declared war on Russia. He got out again, too, and is now back in Stockholm.

PVT. R. F. CRACKNELL is a young British soldier who, at the time his poem was sent us, was assigned to bomb-disposal duty in England.

JOHN B. POWELL went to China in 1917 and stayed until 1942. He was editor of The China Weekly and of The China Press and was correspondent for British and American newspapers, including The Manchester Guardian. He was interned by the Japanese at Shanghai and returned to this country on the Gripsholm. He is still undergoing treatment at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City.

WILLIAM TROY, former chairman of the Literature Division of Bennington College, is an old contributor to The New Republic.

HENRY LEE MOON is a Racial Relations adviser for a federal agency. He has been assistant to the secretary of Tuskegee Institute and an editorial writer on Negro newspapers in Cleveland, Ohio, and New York City. He has contributed to The New Republic, The Nation, The New York Times, Phylon, Opportunity and The Crisis.

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